István Pásztori-Kupán

Theodoret of Cyrus's Double Treatise *On the Trinity* and *On the Incarnation*: The Antiochene Pathway to Chalcedon

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Dedicated to

Prof. Emeritus David F. Wright

A theologian of the Word and a man of his word

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At this point I would like to remember and thank all those whom – due to an 'inefficient scholarly research' in my memories – I might have forgotten. I beseech them to be convinced that this is due merely to human weakness and it is certainly unintentional. I pray to God to bless all those mentioned or not mentioned wonderful people who have accepted to be His chosen vessels to help me reach this point for the greater glory of His name. Soli Deo gloria!

Kolozsvár, 20 August 2007.

Pásztori-Kupán István

List of abbreviations

ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, Series I, ed. by E. Schwartz and J. Straub (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1914-1984); Series II, ed. sub auspiciis Academiae Scientiarum Bavaricae (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984ff.)
ASE	*Annali di storia dell'esegesi*
BS	*Byzantine Studies/ Études Byzantines*
CPG	Geerard, Mauritius, ed., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols + *Supplementum* (Leuven: Brepols-Turnhout, 1979-1998)
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
CV	*Communio Viatorum*
DCB	Smith, William, and Henry Wace, eds., *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, 4 vols (London: John Murray, 1877-1887)
Denz.	H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum*, 37th edn (Freiburg: Herder, 1991)
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
Eranistes	*Eranistes*, ed. by Gerard H. Ettlinger (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975)
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
GOTR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*
HE	Theodoret of Cyrus, *Historia ecclesiastica*
HFC	Theodoret of Cyrus, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*
HR	Theodoret of Cyrus, *Historia religiosa*
ITQ	*Irish Theological Quarterly*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
MSR	*Mélanges de science religieuse*
NPNF	Wace, Henry, and Philip Schaff, eds., *A Select Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of The Christian Church*, 14 vols (Oxford: James Parker, 1886-1900)
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
PG	Migne, Jacques Paul, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, 161 vols (Paris: 1857-1887)
PL	Migne, Jacques Paul, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, 221 vols (Paris: 1844-1864)
RA	*Recherches Augustiniennes*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
RevSR	*Revue des sciences religieuses*
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes (Paris: Cerf, 1941ff)*
SP	*Studia Patristica*
SPT	*Les sciences philosophiques et théologiques*
TS	*Theological Studies*
ThQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen der Altchristlichen Literatur*
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZKTh	*Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*

Prooemium

‘Every writing requires time and tranquillity, together with a mind free of worries’.

(Theodoret of Cyrus: *On the Holy and Vivifying Trinity*)

Exactly ten years ago, on a warm August afternoon in 1992, being on a trip in Hungary with some of my fellow colleagues from the Theological Institute in Kolozsvár, I entered an antiquarian book-seller – at the time I thought – merely by chance. I happened to pick up a two-volume publication entitled *On the divine and human nature* containing selected works of Greek Church Fathers. That evening I began to read the Bishop of Cyrus for the very first time. A week later I found myself hunting for every other available book written by him. He simply rhymed too well to what I had been brought up with. It almost seemed too good to be true.

This enthusiasm did not fade away throughout my undergraduate years. It rather strengthened and during my two-year middle-school teaching in my home town it almost became a returning obsession. With the possibility having been offered to study in Scotland in 1998 initially for a master’s degree, my life took a new turn. I left with bitterest heart a wife and a two-and-a-half week old daughter back home and started the adventure which is now slowly coming to its conclusion.

It has been a long, exciting but spiritually demanding time during which I had to learn to detach from my theme and from my hero emotionally in order to be able to reflect upon his lifework with some objectivity. Whether I was successful or not in this attempt, the following work will bear witness. Nevertheless, I do not intend to begin and carry out the analysis of Theodoret’s early theology around the unsettled times of the Third Ecumenical Council with the assumption that every ambiguous or defective point of his (or in fact anyone else’s) theology and/or mode of its expression can be explained away by a skilfully chosen method of interpretation. On the contrary, I am convinced that in this sense there is no ‘perfect’ theology even less a ‘perfect’ and timeless theological model of Christ – simply because it cannot exist, for we all ‘see through a mirror, dimly [βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι᾽ ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι]’ (1Corinthians 13:12). As a consequence, both theology in general and the model of Christ in particular have to be continually reformulated, often even within the oeuvre of one theologian. If this does not happen naturally, theology itself ceases to be the very expression of God’s ever-actual message in the Church, in the society and in history. Consequently, it also is my belief – perhaps not without the influence of Theodoret – that a so-called ‘l’art pour l’art’ theology has no legitimacy in itself.

To a certain extent all theologians are bound to their historical period, yet even if they were not, they are certainly confined by the inevitable analogies which they build upon and apply to their own anthropological, soteriological, pastoral and other concerns. Hence, analogies by their very nature are approximate and not absolute. Different theologians do not necessarily ask the same questions: therefore, their answers may differ accordingly.

Without spending time to illustrate how often one's heterodoxy or defective formula provoked as it were the orthodoxy of the other[1] I would merely assess that one's involvement in Christian theology means to respond to a challenge (or to several challenges) and to bring new ones into the debate at the same time – yet in most cases the latter is bound to be addressed and answered by someone else. Nevertheless, this is the natural way of theological development – at least for those who believe that the message of the divinely inspired Scripture is eternally actual and consequently has to be reformulated and retranslated for every generation. Thus, *Verbum Dei manet in aeternum* – not our however best formulae and interpretations.

It is perhaps needless to say that this cannot mean at all an introduction of relativism into the doctrine about the Person of our Saviour – μὴ γένοιτο. Concerning Him there are indeed some utterly fundamental elements, which derive from Scripture itself, and ignoring these is beyond any doubt contrary to Christian teaching. Such elements are the unequivocal recognition of His full divinity and full humanity, the unreserved reception of all His teachings and deeds including the entire work of salvation as well as the exclusive recognition of Him being the One and only Creator, Saviour, Teacher, High Priest, Master and King of the visible and invisible world, the Word Incarnate, unmatched by any other teacher, prophet or religious figure who had lived before or is yet to come. My intention therefore is not to challenge any of these indispensable elements of the Christian doctrine concerning Jesus Christ, but rather to show that within these outlined premises the manner of conceiving the 'why'-s and the 'how'-s by the representative of a particular theological school of thought is more likely to be bound to a certain historical period or to personal theological concepts, which are not necessarily for that reason opposed to Scripture. They are mostly continual and imperfect human attempts to rephrase again and again for the all-time contemporary Christian community an inexpressible – or as Theodoret said: an 'ineffable' divine miracle.

With these preliminary thoughts I invite the reader to take a journey into the theological world of two little treatises written by one of the most interesting ecclesiastical figures of the fifth century coming from the Antiochene tradition: Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus.

[1] For the sake of illustration only: without the Arian challenge Origen's equation between γενητός and γεννητός could have prevailed perhaps for many centuries after Nicaea or the term ὁμοούσιος might be missing from the *Creed*. Apollinaris challenged the views of his own master by taking them one step further, thus making Athanasius aware that the significance of the rational soul in Christ should be more emphasised than he had done before – having been chiefly engaged against Arianism. Without the Nestorian and Eutychian challenges and the response given to them by Cyril and Theodoret we might not possess such an accurately formulated *Chalcedonense*; without Brunner's challenge in *Natur und Gnade* Barth may have never written his famous *Nein!* in reaction to a modern 'semi-Pelagianism' etc.

Chapter 1: Theodoret as Theologian and Churchman

The life and literary production of the Bishop of Cyrus has been researched in some detail by venerable scholarly authorities. Since the main goal of my thesis is not the presentation of Theodoret's exhaustive biography or of the chronology of his works, I shall summarise here the main events of his life and characterise his theological, ecclesiastical and human personality, whilst referring the reader to the relevant modern scholarship.[2] A few observations, however, will be made concerning the significance of some turning points in his career.

1.1 Birth, education and consecration for bishopric in Cyrus

The circumstances of Theodoret's conception and birth at the end of the fourth century in Antioch remind us of the biblical stories of Samson and Samuel. His mother – married at the age of seventeen – had been barren and although her diseased eye was healed by the hermit Peter of Galata, according to the admonition of whom she embraced a more ascetic life than she had lived before,[3] it took a further seven years until another holy man, Macedonius, finally promised the birth of a son. The condition put before the future parents was to dedicate the one to be born for the service of God.[4] This being accepted, the mother conceived and after a threatened pregnancy aided by the holy man's prayers a son was born in the year 393.[5] His parents named him Theodoret, i.e. 'the gift of God', and together with the monks he frequently met they instructed him to regard and live his life as the fulfilment of this parental offering.[6] As he himself writes in *Letter* 88 *to Taurus the Patrician*, 'for I received the apostolic nourishment from my mother's breast and the creed laid down at Nicaea by the holy and blessed Fathers' (*SC* 98, 234).

Being determined to live a life dedicated to God, he acquired a vast biblical knowledge and a close familiarity with the teachings of earlier theologians. Although the details of his education are not known to us, his works reveal a vast erudition. Apart from his mother tongue, Syriac, he mastered Greek[7] and Hebrew. His secular education was peculiarly impressive.[8]

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[2] John Henry Newman, 'Trials of Theodoret' in *Historical Sketches* (London: Basil Montagu Pickering, 1873), 307-62; E. Venables, 'Theodoretus' in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. by William Smith and Henry Wace, 4 vols (London: John Murray, 1877-1887), IV, 904-19; Blomfield Jackson, *The Ecclesiastical History, Dialogues, and Letters of Theodoret*, *NPNF* III, 1-23; Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, 4 vols (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1950-86), III, 536-54; Paul Bauchman Clayton, Jr., 'Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, and the Mystery of the Incarnation in Late Antiochene Christology' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1985), 4-61; Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, trans. by R. M. Price, Cistercian Studies, 88 (Oxford: Mowbray, 1985) – esp. the Introduction. Most of the material presented in this chapter is to be found in these works, therefore I shall quote them very sparingly.

[3] See Theodoret, *HR* 9 in *SC* 234, 415-22.

[4] *HR* 13 (*SC* 234, 503-9).

[5] A date accepted by most scholars based on Theodoret's own testimony in *HR* 9 (*SC* 234, 422).

[6] *HR* 13 in *SC* 234, 506-8.

[7] The purity of his Attic is praised by Photius in *Bibliothèque*, ed. by René Henry, Collection Byzantine, 8 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1959-77), III, 102-3.

[8] For example, in the *Graecarum affectionum curatio* alone he quotes more than one hundred pagan philosophers, poets and historians in about 340 passages (Quasten, *Patrology*, III, 544). See also Y. Azéma, 'Citations d'auteurs et allusions profanes dans la Correspondance de Théodoret', *TU*, 125 (1981), 5-13.

We are unaware of the details or the time of his baptism.[9] His correspondence does not reveal anything concerning its circumstances. On one hand, the sequence by which he presents the events in *Letter* 143 is perhaps too weak a ground to conclude that he was not baptised in infancy, but only after 'having believed'.[10] On the other hand, the fact that Theodoret was a child offered to God before his conception did not automatically involve his infant baptism.[11]

Until the age of six he could have listened to the sermons of his great fellow-townsman, John Chrysostom, who continued to influence by his writings not only the similarly eloquent preaching of Theodoret but his theological formation also. By the age of 23 (416 AD) he had lost both of his parents and distributed his entire (not small) heritage to the poor (*Letter* 113), dedicating himself to a monastic life in Nicerte, 3 miles from Apamea and about 75 miles from Antioch (*Letter* 119). There he lived between 416 and 423, until his consecration against his will (*Letters* 80 and 81) as bishop of Cyrus, 'a solitary town' (*Letter* 138) in the province of Euphratensis.

The seven years spent in the monastery before his ordination and the following seven until the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy were arguably the most peaceful ones of his life. His unwavering pastoral care bore abundant fruits on both the ecclesiastical and the social levels. The inhabitants of the 800 parishes of his diocese were not particularly well educated: the vast area had always been 'swarming with heretics'.[12] Driven by a deep commitment and often facing imminent threats to his life, Theodoret brought thousands of various schismatics back into the body of the Church. This was again untypical for contemporary churchmen (including e.g. Cyril and Nestorius),[13] who rather preferred to use military force in order to obliterate physically the heresies together with the heretics. Perhaps his only action reproached by some modern researchers of Tatian was the gathering and destruction of 200 copies of the *Diatessaron* in order to introduce the four gospels in his diocese.[14]

From the revenues of his see he beautified the city, built an aqueduct, public bridges, baths and porticos. He also introduced skilled craftsmen and medical personnel to look after the people. The Cyrrhestica was a fertile territory and its inhabitants were unbearably overtaxed. Apart from his vast literary production he still found time to entreat those in charge to lessen such burdens (see e.g. *Letter* 43 *to Pulcheria*, *Letter* 45 *to Anatolius the patrician*). His fame as an orator competed with Chrysostom's and his

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[9] For a more detailed discussion of the question of infant baptism in early Christianity see David F. Wright, 'At What Ages Were People Baptized in the Early Centuries?', *SP*, 30 (1997), 189-94.

[10] οὕτω γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐματεύθημεν, οὕτως ἐπιστεύσαμεν, οὕτως ἐβαπτίσθημεν etc. (*SC* 111, 156-58). Cf. *Letter to the Eastern monks* (*SC* 429, 102).

[11] David F. Wright holds the same opinion over against the not documented assumption of P. Canivet. See D. F. Wright, 'Infant Dedication in the Early Church', in *Baptism, the New Testament and the Church: Historical and Contemporary Studies in Honour of R. E. O. White*, ed. by Stanley E. Porter and Anthony R. Cross, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series, 171 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 352-78 (p. 373). Cf. Pierre Canivet, *Le monachisme Syrien selon Théodoret de Cyr*, Théologie Historique, 42 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977), 44.

[12] Newman, 'Trials of Theodoret', 321.

[13] See e.g. Socrates Scholasticus, *HE* 7.

[14] See *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* 1, 20 in *PG* 83, 372A.

sermons were often applauded also in Antioch where he was invited regularly for preaching visits (*Letters* 83, 147). One of the best summaries of this lifelong exemplary concern for his flock is to be found in *Letter* 81 *to the consul Nomus*:

> My accusers compel me to speak. Even before my conception my parents promised to devote me to God; from my swaddling-bands they devoted me according to their promise and educated me accordingly; the time before my episcopate I spent in a monastery and then was unwillingly consecrated bishop. Twenty-five years I so lived that I was never summoned to trial by any one nor ever brought accusation against any. Not one of the pious clergy who were under me ever frequented a court. In so many years I never took an obol nor a garment from any one. Not one of my domestics ever received a loaf or an egg. I could not endure the thought of possessing anything save the rags I wore. From the revenues of my see I erected public porticoes; I built two large bridges; I looked after the public baths. On finding that the city was not watered by the river running by it, I built the conduit, and supplied the dry town with water. But not to mention these matters I led eight villages of Marcionites with their neighbourhood into the way of truth; another full of Eunomians and another of Arians I brought to the light of divine knowledge, and, by God's grace, not a tare of heresy was left among us. All this I did not effect with impunity; many a time I shed my blood; many a time was I stoned by them and brought to the very gates of death. But I am a fool in my boasting, yet my words are spoken of necessity, not of consent.[15]

Although Cyrus was an insignificant and reasonably desolate city and its cultural level was undoubtedly much lower than the learned shepherd would have deserved, his grateful flock clung to him with ardent love. In fact, his affection for the community he was assigned to was also his vulnerable point during the later development of events.

1.2 The Nestorian controversy

Theodore of Mopsuestia, the great interpreter of the Antiochene school, died in 428. In the same year, Theodoret's friend Nestorius became patriarch of Constantinople.[16] Cyril had already been patriarch of Alexandria since 412. The clash between the two equally passionate and not very diplomatic churchmen brought about a stormy dispute within the Eastern Church, which continued for decades after their deaths, causing most of the unfortunate changes in Theodoret's life.

Theodoret's direct involvement in the debate started in 430, when John of Antioch received the letters of Pope Celestine and Cyril concerning the condemnation of Nestorius by the West and by Cyril's party. When these letters reached Antioch, Theodoret was also there with other bishops of the province for the ordination of Macarius, the new bishop of Laodicea. Theodoret was the author of the often forgotten

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[15] *SC* 98, 196-97, trans. by B. Jackson in *NPNF* III, 277.

[16] We do not know for sure whether Theodoret and Nestorius were disciples in Theodore's school, nevertheless, the influence of Diodore, Theodore and Chrysostom is visibly present in their thinking.

letter written in the name of John and his party to Nestorius, which in mild and tender style tried to persuade the patriarch not to throw the whole of Christendom into confusion for the sake of a word (i.e. θεοτόκος).[17]

Theodoret's most famous act before the Council of Ephesus, however, was his *Refutation of Cyril's Twelve Anathemas*, for which he is still criticised. When referring to this episode we should remember some often neglected circumstances in order to have a clearer picture. He wrote these counter-statements at the request of John of Antioch and not from his own initiative (see his *Letter to John* in *SC* 429, 62-71). Further, Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas*, as an extreme Alexandrian disapproval of Nestorius' teaching – especially without their author's later *Apology* addressed to the Oriental bishops – as E. Venables rightly points out, 'hardly escaped falling into the opposite error'.[18] Their language and terminology – certainly without Cyril's intention – was strongly Apollinarian.[19] Cyril had in fact used quite a few Apollinarian forgeries, holding them as written by Athanasius.[20] The best one could say about these *Anathemas* as a whole is that they were far from being a peerless summary of Cyrilline orthodoxy and required further explanation in order to be accepted. Theodoret, being a learned scholar, had found a number of – mostly verbal – inconsistencies, making in his answers several legitimate points against them.

Paradoxically, without Theodoret's counter-statements being written, Cyril would probably have never been concerned with defending or re-interpreting these anathemas, and indeed without his own explanation the charge of 'verbal Apollinarianism' could hardly be dismissed. Thus, by his replies, Theodoret willy-nilly helped Cyril to elucidate his own position. That is why the Bishop of Cyrus could sign the *Formula of Reunion* in 434, considering that the Alexandrian patriarch no longer held to the extreme position of his earlier *Anathemas*, which did not become recognised theological standards until 553.[21]

Apart from the above points there is another question to be raised, which is important in our pursuit to describe and evaluate Theodoret's pre-Ephesian activity. Here we arrive at the double treatise, the very object of our research, written – as we shall argue – shortly after the *Refutation of Cyril's Anathemas* and before the Council of Ephesus. In these two tracts Theodoret lays down the basic Antiochene Trinitarian, Christological, soteriological and anthropological concepts. Our investigation is focused upon these two tracts, which represent Theodoret's positive contribution towards the formation of Chalcedonian Christology. These tracts were overshadowed by the *Refutation*, which is Theodoret's negative contribution only, and their theological significance was often interpreted in the light of the latter. This is due partly to the fact that both *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione* were preserved under the name of Cyril[22] and were restored to their

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[17] *DCB* IV, 908.
[18] *DCB* IV, 908.
[19] See section *4.5.6 Terminology* in Ch. 4 of the present work.
[20] See e.g. Newman, 'Trials of Theodoret', 351.
[21] See also section *4.5.3 The subject of predication* in Ch. 4 of the present work.
[22] See *PG* 75, 1147-1190 (Περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ζωοποίου Τριάδος = *De sancta et vivifica Trinitate*) and *PG* 75, 1419-1478 (Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως = *De incarnatione/inhumanatione Domini*).

author only in 1888.[23] Consequently, this important positive contribution of Theodoret to Christology during the most controversial time of his life was practically unknown to theologians for more than 14 centuries. It seems possible that if some later analysts had had knowledge about Theodoret's *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*, they would not have portrayed him as an inconvertible crypto-Nestorian. Without this double treatise the pre-Ephesian Theodoret could be seen as a mere controversialist who did not produce anything positive to the theological question at stake, but merely rejected Cyril's Alexandrian statements.[24] Such an attitude could not be characterised as a true care for the unity of the Church, even less an example worthy of being followed.

In the main part of this thesis I intend to analyse closely this two-part treatise and will seek to show, *inter alia*, that the main charge of crypto-Nestorianism brought against Theodoret is largely unwarranted. This is not only because the accusations brought against his teaching are largely anachronistic – as I shall argue – but also because we encounter examples where some modern analysts fail to differentiate between what is said and who is saying it.[25]

At the Council of Ephesus in 431, Theodoret, together with 68 bishops (including Alexander of Hierapolis) and the imperial representative vainly protested against the opening of the sessions before the arrival of John of Antioch and of the papal legates.[26] Nestorius refused to appear in the front of the incomplete and thus illegitimately constituted council, which was presided over by Cyril, who, as the main accuser, should have been denied this role.[27] Nestorius was labelled 'the new Judas', banned and deposed by Cyril's council in his absence, without a trial. After John's arrival Theodoret joined the Antiochene 'conciliabulum' and adhered to the deposition of Cyril and Memnon. Without entering into the details, which we can find in the extensive relevant scholarship, it can be concluded that the ecclesiastical gathering later known as the 'Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus' in fact never took place. There were two separate priestly meetings – both of them justifiable from a certain canonical viewpoint – the decisions of which were

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[23] Concerning the details of their handing down, restoration etc. see Ch. 2 of the present work.

[24] Another pre-Ephesian work of Theodoret, *Expositio rectae fidei*, preserved under the name of Justin Martyr was restored to him by J. Lebon in the second part of his study 'Restitutions a Théodoret de Cyr', *RHE*, 26 (1930), 523-50 (pp. 536-50).

[25] The best example for this is the twofold evaluation of a passage from Ch. 32 of *De incarnatione* (*PG* 75, 1473B: τὴν κρᾶσιν καταλιπόντες – τῇ ὑψηλῇ καὶ μεγάλῃ καὶ πάντα νοῦν ὑπερβαινούσῃ ἀνατιθέντες θεότητι. See also *Fragment no. 11 in Lebon* in the *Appendix*). The first who spoke against it – knowing that Theodoret was the author – was the Monophysite Severus of Antioch (J. Lebon, 'Restitutions a Théodoret de Cyr', *RHE*, 26, 1930, 531). Angelo Mai, who first published the treatise in 1833, believing that it was a genuine work of Cyril, takes the same fragment of Ch. 32 and praises 'the author' for clearly distinguishing the natures and removing Monophysitism (see Mai's footnotes No. 1-3 in *PG* 75, 1473). Recently, P. B. Clayton, whilst analysing the passage in his doctoral thesis again condemns Theodoret – now proven to be the real author – for exactly the same thing (Clayton, 'Theodoret', 241-43). According to this hardly acceptable approach, the very same statement can be considered orthodox if coming from the pen of Cyril and regarded as being a heresy if written by Theodoret. It is one of the main aims of the present thesis to produce a more balanced picture of the pre-Ephesian Theodoret.

[26] Charles Joseph Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church*, trans. by William R. Clark, 5 vols (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1894-96), III, 46.

[27] According to the ancient juridical axiom 'nemo esse iudex in sua causa potest'. One has to remember also that the Council was summoned upon the request of Nestorius. See also section *2.1.1 External and internal evidence* in Ch. 2 of the present work.

at first simultaneously validated by the emperor (since all the deposed bishops were imprisoned). Later, one of the two was given political support, the church being compelled to regard it as the sole legitimate one. Perhaps Friedrich Loofs summarised most befittingly the two councils held at Ephesus: 'das Konzil konstatierte nur die Unvereinbarkeit der Gegensätze'.[28]

1.3 Between Ephesus and Chalcedon

The famous *Formula of Reunion* between the two parties – accepted by Cyril and John in 433 – had been drawn up by the Bishop of Cyrus in Ephesus already. This was the *Antiochene Formula*, which the Eastern commissioners (including Theodoret) presented to the emperor after the end of both Ephesian councils in September 431.[29] I shall point out its similarities with Theodoret's other writings and letters of the period in the second and fourth chapter of this work. Theodoret also took part in the synods of Tarsus and Antioch held in the same year by the Eastern party and composed his – now lost – *Pentalogus* (the five books against Cyril), a work banned by the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 553.

Entangled between the two Antiochene parties of John of Antioch and of Alexander of Hierapolis respectively (the former pursued and achieved peace with Cyril in the end even at the cost of accepting Nestorius' deposition, the latter remained a resolute defender of his former patriarch, refusing any kind of reconciliation with Cyril), Theodoret sought for an agreement by detaching theological matters from personal antipathies. The acceptance of the *Formula* by everyone without anathematising Nestorius could theoretically be the most peaceful solution, although this had the smallest chances especially from Cyril's side, who would not accede to withdraw his disputable *Anathemas*. Although both parties began to regard the controversy as a matter of prestige and apart from Theodoret's ever decreasing group virtually nobody could separate the theological debate from church-political interests, the *Formula* was signed in 433 and Theodoret formally adhered to it in the following year.

His differentiation between the signing of the *Formula* (with which as its author he fully agreed theologically) and the condemnation of Nestorius deserves some attention, especially because this aspect has often been either neglected or oversimplified. On one hand it is perhaps true that he credited his friend with having taught the same doctrine he himself held. On the other hand, however, canonically he was justified in rejecting the deposition of Nestorius. He was to suffer the same maltreatment of being deposed without a trial eighteen years later. Parmentier's brilliant analysis of the Syriac version of

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[28] Fr. Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1906), 295. Cf. Martin Parmentier, 'A Letter from Theodoret of Cyrus to the Exiled Nestorius (CPG 6270) in a Syriac Version', *Bijdragen*, 51 (1990), 234-45 (p. 234).

[29] See e.g. William Bright, *The Age of the Fathers* (London: Longmans, 1903), II, 338. Cf. *DCB* IV, 910 and also László Vanyó, *Az ókeresztény egyház és irodalma (The Early Church and Its Literature)* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1988), 689. Cf. Marijan Mandac, 'L' union christologique dans les oeuvres de Théodoret antérieures au Concile d' Éphèse', *ETL*, 47 (1971), 64-96.

Theodoret's *Letter* 172 *to the exiled Nestorius*[30] – written in 434 after he had signed the *Formula* – and of its polemical interpolations (inserted by the Monophysite translator) is conclusive. Theodoret explains here that he signed the *Formula* because he was indeed convinced of Cyril's orthodoxy, but at the same time he refuses to subscribe to the canonically unjustifiable deposition of his friend:

> Let no one therefore persuade your holiness that I have accepted the Egyptian writings [Cyril's letter to the Easterns] as orthodox, with my eyes shut, because I covet any see. For really, to speak the truth, after frequently reading and carefully examining them, I have discovered that they are free from all heretical taint, and I have hesitated to put any stress upon them, though I certainly have no love for their author, who was the originator of the disturbances which have agitated the world. For this I hope to escape punishment in the day of Judgement, since the just Judge examines motives. But to what has been done unjustly and illegally against your holiness, not even if one were to cut off both my hands would I ever assent,[31] God's grace helping me and supporting my infirmity. This I have stated in writing to those who require it. I have sent to your holiness my reply to what you wrote to me, that you may know that, by God's grace, no time has changed me like the centipedes and chameleons who imitate by their colour the stones and leaves among which they live. I and all with me salute all the brotherhood who are with you in the Lord (trans. by B. Jackson in *NPNF* III, 345).

Thus, the Bishop of Cyrus overcame his personal hostility towards Cyril upon realising that his opponent was not heterodox and agreed with the Alexandrian patriarch in doctrinal matters despite his friendship with Nestorius, who in his turn did not approve the *Formula*.[32] This distinction of the two (doctrinal and canon-law) issues was therefore neither a betrayal of his friend nor a compromise in doctrinal matters. It rather shows Theodoret's wisdom and longing for peace, the more so since he turns towards Nestorius in two subsequent letters – only one of them extant – in order to ask for his help (!) in convincing the unyielding Alexander of Hierapolis to accept the *Formula*.[33] This was in fact a last attempt to bring the matter of accepting the *Formula* once again before Nestorius himself. Theodoret was late in adhering also because he hoped to convince his own patriarch to accept it[34] and to avoid being exiled. It did not happen so: Alexander was deposed. Theodoret, however, accepted the *Formula* rightly from a theological perspective, whilst considering the condemnation of Nestorius as being a separate issue.[35]

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[30] The letter is extant in three Latin translations and in one Syriac version. See *SC* 429, 250-59 and Parmentier, 'A Letter from Theodoret'.

[31] These famous lines written to Nestorius are quoted by Pope Pelagius II in his *Letter* 3 *to the bishops of Histria* in *ACO* IV, 2, 129, lines 16-17; Cf. *SC* 429, pp. 252, 256 and 258.

[32] See Nestorius's reply (*CPG* 5676) and Parmentier, 'A Letter of Theodoret', 239.

[33] See *CPG* 6271 and Parmentier, 'A Letter of Theodoret', 241. The letter is in *SC* 429, 318-21.

[34] Alexander did not fully agree to the wording of the *Antiochene Formula* in September 431 either. See section *2.1.2 A possible post-Ephesian retouching* in Chapter 2 of the present work.

[35] One largely neglected reference in Theodoret's *Letter* 83 *to Dioscorus* (448), however, suggests that a formal adherence of the Bishop of Cyrus to the condemnation of Nestorius indeed happened well before Chalcedon: 'Our own hands bear witness that we subscribed twice the writings of John of blessed memory concerning Nestorius, yet

In order to settle things and be able to focus on his duties in Cyrus, Theodoret entered into friendly correspondence with Cyril – or at least this is what he tells us in his letter to Dioscorus.[36] Their relationship was perhaps not too cordial, and it is certain that Cyril did not seem to have in his mind at any time the possibility of a true reconciliation with Antiochene theology, regardless of the *Formula*. In his *Letter* 69 to Acacius of Melitene[37] Cyril writes, 'Having studied the books of Theodore and Diodore, which they wrote, not indeed about the Incarnation of the Only-begotten, but against the Incarnation, I selected some chapters' (*PG* 77, 340C). Thus, as Paul Parvis observed, 'at least six years before the writing of his books against Diodore and Theodore, Cyril was already gathering supplies for the next phase of his campaign against the theology and the theologians of Antioch'.[38]

The Alexandrian patriarch knew that the *Formula of Reunion* was not a full victory for the Alexandrian school, and, being attacked by some of his own radical followers for having signed it, he began a harsh theological campaign against Theodoret's masters. Both of them had died in peace with the Church, and Diodore, moreover, was one of the chairmen of the Council of Constantinople in 381, having been considered by his contemporaries as the pillar of orthodoxy against Apollinarianism. Even if we regard Cyril's action concretised in his work *Against Diodore and Theodore* a mere act of self-compensation, Theodoret's reaction to defend them in his *Apology for Diodore and Theodore*[39] was theologically legitimate. In fact, Cyril was attacking one of the key figures of the Second Council, and implicitly the Council itself, which according to this reasoning permitted 'a heretic' to be its chairman.

In 438 Cyril wanted to compel all bishops to reject Nestorian doctrine in express terms. John was outraged at this request and besought Proclus of Constantinople to intervene with the emperor in order to put an end to such demands. Cyril also wrote an indignant letter to John upon learning that Theodoret had not expressly anathematised Nestorius whilst signing the *Formula*.[40]

The controversy seemed to be arising again when Cyril passed away in 444. Nevertheless, the hardships of Theodoret did not reach their end with the death of his opponent. His reaction to the Monophysite heresy in the *Eranistes* (447) (despite its references to Athanasius, Cyril and other Alexandrian theologians) brought about a condemnation by the *Latrocinium* in 449 – without a trial. Seeing the theological disaster produced by Eutyches and Dioscorus, he wrote to Pope Leo, thus giving him the chance to solve the doctrinal problem. In his *Letter* 113 *to Leo*, after all the humiliation of being

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these things are whispered about us by those who try to conceal their own unsoundness by calumniating us' (*SC* 98, 218). For a full account of this see Marcel Richard, 'Théodoret, Jean d'Antioche et les moines d'Orient', *MSR*, 3 (1946), 147-56 (153-54).

[36] See *SC* 98, 216. Cf. M. Richard, 'Théodoret, Jean d'Antioche et les moines', 154-55.

[37] *CPG* 5369. The Latin version of this passage is in *ACO* I, 4, 227. Cf. with *ACO* IV, 1, 108.

[38] Paul M. Parvis, 'Theodoret' s Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul: Historical Setting and Exegetical Practice' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1975), 232.

[39] See Luise Abramowski, 'Reste von Theodorets Apologie für Diodor und Theodor bei Facundus', *SP*, 1 (1957), 61-69.

[40] See *DCB* IV, 911. Cyril's letter to John is No. 63 in *PG* 77, 328BD.

first restricted to his diocese by the imperial decree (30 March 449) and then condemned and deposed in his absence (August 449), he writes:

> I lament the disturbance of the church, and long for peace. Twenty-six years have I ruled the church entrusted to me by the God of all, aided by your prayers. […] [But] if you bid me abide by the sentence of condemnation, I abide; and henceforth I will trouble no man, and will wait for the righteous tribunal of our God and Saviour. God is my witness, my lord, that I care not for honour and glory (*SC* 111, 62-65; *NPNF* III, 294).

Theodoret suffered the same treatment as Nestorius: he was charged, convicted and deposed without a trial, without any chance to defend himself.[41] The death of Theodosius II (29 July 450) and the accession of Pulcheria and Marcian created a more favourable political atmosphere for the orthodox party. Nevertheless, Theodoret's last and ultimate humiliation was to happen at the eighth session of the Council of Chalcedon. The cost of his acceptance as an orthodox teacher was the personal anathema against Nestorius. He stated it in the midst of such riotous, unprincipled enemies as Juvenal, who had with equal readiness voted for his deposition in his absence two years before and now had pronounced for his restoration refusing to hear any theological statement, just his anathema against Nestorius. The pious Bishop of Cyrus made the right decision. He agreed to anathematise his friend, thus being able to do his historical duty, i.e. to save the church once again from a hardly explainable dogma, which would have needed continual reparation or re-interpretation. The *Chalcedonense* is largely founded upon his *Formula of Reunion*, whilst its other passages were also effectively anticipated by Theodoret in his letters and works, including *De incarnatione*.

A last important point ought to be raised concerning the relationship between Theodoret and Pope Leo. It is often suggested that the latter was largely unaware of the theological and church-political depths of the Eastern disputes and in his *Tomus ad Flavianum* approved by Chalcedon merely repeated in a servile manner the Western formulae without having fully understood the issues at stake. This seems to be a comfortable explanation as to why some passages of this letter were denounced by the Illyrian and Palestinian bishops at Chalcedon as being 'Nestorian'. This question cannot be neglected – and not merely from a church-political or canonical perspective, but also concerning our assessment of Leo's doctrinal authority.

Based on the available evidence I think that to depict Leo as either being unacquainted with the true nature of the doctrinal issues or having insufficient information about the other aspects of the Eastern disputes is erroneous. On the contrary, he was not only aware of the questions involved and formulated his *Tome* accordingly, but knew also the people

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[41] See e.g. his *Epistle* 80 *to the Prefect Eutrechius*: 'And those were unquestionably wrong who gave both their ears to my calumniators and would not keep one for me. Even to murderers, and to them that despoil other men's beds, an opportunity is given of defending themselves, and they do not receive sentence till they have been convicted in their own presence, or have made confession of the truth of the charges on which they are indicted. But a high priest who has held the office of bishop for 25 years after passing his previous life in a monastery, who has never troubled a tribunal, nor yet on any single occasion been prosecuted by any man, is treated as a mere plaything of calumny, without being allowed even the common privilege of grave-robbers of being questioned as to the truth of the accusations brought against them' (*SC* 98, 190 and trans. in *NPNF* III, 276).

who were worthy of his confidence. According to the testimony of his correspondence, Leo could well distinguish e.g. between Juvenal's unscrupulous opportunism and Theodoret's firm theological position and reliable character. For the sake of illustration I shall summarise Leo's attitude towards Juvenal and Theodoret respectively before and after Chalcedon.

After Theodosius's death Leo wrote to Anatolius of Constantinople that the names of Dioscorus, Juvenal and Eustathius were not to be read aloud at the holy altar (*Letter* 80 in *NPNF* XII, 66). According to Leo Dioscorus displayed his bad feeling and Juvenal his ignorance 'in the synod undeserving to be called a synod'. They may be accepted into communion upon anathematising the Eutychian heresy in unambiguous terms. Nonetheless, Leo reserves their case 'for the maturer deliberations of the Apostolic See, that when all things have been sifted and weighed, the right conclusion may be arrived at about their real actions' (*Letter* 85 in *NPNF* XII, 68).

Leo wrote to Bishop Julian in 452 in similar terms whilst warning him to be circumspect in receiving the lapsed. Although he laments Juvenal's injuries, he nonetheless states that 'the very food he [Juvenal] had supplied them [i.e. the Monophysite party, which after Chalcedon turned against him] was turned to his own ruin' (*Letter* 109 in *NPNF* XII, 82). Leo was also aware of Juvenal's other opportunistic move in Ephesus 431 when he sided with Cyril merely in the hope of obtaining the ecclesiastical presidency over the province of Palestine, about which Cyril informed Leo (then archdeacon of Rome) in a letter.[42] Finally, in his *Letter* 139 addressed to Juvenal himself, together with saluting him for returning to orthodoxy, Leo reproaches his former conduct in quite harsh terms:

> I grieved to think you had been yourself the source of your adversities by failing in persistency of opposition to the heretics: for men can but think you were not bold enough to refute those with whom when in error you professed yourself satisfied. For the condemnation of Flavian of blessed memory and the acceptance of the most unholy Eutyches what was it but the denial of our Lord Jesus Christ according to the flesh? […] And therefore, because in the tithe of long-suffering, you have chosen the return to wisdom rather than persistency in folly, I rejoice that you have so sought the heavenly remedies as at last to have become a defender of the Faith which is assailed by heretics (*NPNF* XII, 97).

One needs to take only a glance at Leo's *Letter* 120 addressed to Theodoret (11 June 453) in order to see just how well informed he was about the situation in the East and how accurately he had chosen his partners. Apart from congratulating the Bishop of Cyrus on their joint victory in Chalcedon and his reassurance that the Apostolic See held and constantly holds Theodoret as being free from all taint of heresy, Leo asks for his further co-operation by the writing of periodic reports:

> We exhort you to continue your co-operation with the Apostolic See, because we have learnt that some remnants of the Eutychian and Nestorian error still linger amongst you. […] We wish to be assisted in this also by your watchful

[42] See Leo's *Letter* 119 *to Maximus, Bishop of Antioch* in *NPNF* XII, 86.

> care that you hasten to inform the Apostolic See by your periodic reports what progress the Lord's teaching makes in those regions; to the end that we may assist the priests of that district in whatever way experience suggests (*NPNF* XII, 89-90).[43]

It is superfluous to add that such a service was not required from Juvenal after his swaying back to the orthodox side. Leo knew exactly which source he could trust. Upon assessing his theological authority in Chalcedon, one has to see that the *Tome* was not only the measure of orthodoxy because of its reconcilability with Cyril's writings, but in its own right as well, the more so since most of those who cried out Λέων εἶπεν τὰ Κυρίλλου in Chalcedon[44] had condemned the very same letter as heretical two years before. Thus, after Chalcedon Leo chose to depend upon the assistance of those churchmen who had proven to be reliable concerning both their theological maturity and their personal commitment to the cause they were serving.

1.4 Theodoret's death and condemnation in 553

We hardly know anything about Theodoret's life after Chalcedon. He explained his subscription to the *Definition* in a letter to John of Aegea,[45] in which he identified Chalcedon's μία ὑπόστασις with his ἓν πρόσωπον. This terminological attitude has been assessed negatively by some modern scholars.[46] He probably composed *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* in 452-53 partly as the last defence of his orthodoxy.[47] Even the year of his death is still a matter of dispute. Tillemont says he did not survive the year 453; Gennadius suggests 457-58, whereas according to Canivet he died before 466.[48] Honigmann argues for 466, whilst Azéma fixed 460 as being the most likely time of Theodoret's death.[49]

Canivet mentions that the Monophysite bishop Philoxenus of Mabbugh (†523) caused Theodoret's name to be removed from the Diptychs at Cyrus and that Sergius II restored it. This is particularly interesting since perhaps in the entire fifth century there was no other bishop in Cyrus to whom the city could have been so grateful in any respect as to Theodoret. The council held under Emperor Justinian in Constantinople 553, whilst condemning Theodore in person, could not totally undo what Chalcedon had done. Thus, it condemned Theodoret's works 'written against true faith and against St. Cyril' in its

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[43] Leo's letter is to be found also in *ACO* II, 4, 78-81.
[44] See *ACO* II, 1, 2, 124.
[45] Marcel Richard, 'La Lettre de Théodoret à Jean d'Égées', *SPT*, 2 (1941-42), 415-23.
[46] Patrick T. R. Gray, 'Theodoret on the *One Hypostasis*, An Antiochene Reading of Chalcedon', *SP*, 15 (1984), 301-4; Kevin McNamara, 'Theodoret of Cyrus and the Unity of Person in Christ', *ITQ*, 22 (1955), 313-28; Clayton, 'Theodoret', 501-6. See section *4.5.6 Terminology* in Ch. 4 of this work.
[47] See Glenn Melvin Cope, 'An Analysis of the Heresiological Method of Theodoret of Cyrus in the *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Catholic University of America, Washington D. C., 1990), 53.
[48] Canivet, Pierre, 'Theodoret of Cyr', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), XIV, 20-22 (p. 20).
[49] Ernest Honigmann, 'Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Basil of Seleucia (the Time of Their Deaths)', in his *Patristic Studies*, Studi e testi, 173 (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1953), 174-84 (p. 180). Cf. Y. Azéma, 'Sur la date de la mort de Théodoret', *Pallas*, 31 (1984), 137-55.

Canon 13. Although concerning the controversy around the *Three Chapters* a learned scholar has said that 'it filled more volumes than it was worth lines'[50] and the fifth council is well beyond our present investigation, it ought to be borne in mind that the entire condemnation of the three Antiochene theologians was done with the hope of reconciling the opponents of Chalcedon. Further, this action took place after the total blunder of the *Henoticon*, which is again an often overlooked detail.

In my assessment of Theodoret's teaching – and also of Chalcedon itself – I intend to interpret him and his theology not from the perspective of what was defined in a totally changed world a century after Chalcedon, but according to the theological standards of his own time. Consequently, whilst being aware of all the pros and cons in modern scholarship, I agree with the following conclusion of Blomfield Jackson:

> The Council [of 553] satisfied nobody. Pope Vigilius, detained at Constantinople and Marmora with something of the same violence with which Napoleon I detained Pius VI at Valence, declined to preside over a gathering so exclusively oriental. The West was outraged by the constitution of the synod, irrespective of its decisions. The Monophysites were disappointed that the credit of Chalcedon should be even nominally saved by the nice distinction which damaged the writings, but professed complete agreement with the council which had refused to damn the writers. The orthodox wanted no slur cast upon Chalcedon, and, however fenced, the condemnation of the *Three Chapters* indubitably involved such a slur. Practically, the decrees of the fourth and fifth councils are mutually inconsistent, and it is impossible to accept both. Theodoret was reinstated at Chalcedon in spite of what he had written, and what he had written was anathematised at Constantinople in spite of his reinstatement.[51]

Thus, within a century after his death, Theodoret suffered another two unfair trials (the removal of his name from the diptychs and the condemnation of some of his works in 553), caused either by prejudiced ignorance or by an honest but inappropriately directed good will to bring peace to the Church. One of the lessons of Constantinople 553 is perhaps that in order to maintain a united body of Christendom a common goal is needed: common enemies or however cleverly chosen scapegoats simply do not suffice.

In the subsequent chapters of this thesis I shall present the textual tradition (Ch. 2) as well as the analysis of *De Trinitate* (Ch. 3) and of *De incarnatione* (Ch. 4). In the conclusion I shall reflect briefly upon the two main parallel Christological concepts, seeking for a positive interpretation of Theodoret's doctrinal legacy.

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[50] *NPNF* III, 13.
[51] See *NPNF* III, 13.

Chapter 2: The Textual Tradition of Both Treatises

In this chapter I shall deal with the issues concerning the textual tradition of *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*. This will involve the discussion of the following:

- Determination of the time of writing by using external and internal evidences;
- The manuscript tradition including the references made to the tracts by ancient and mediaeval authors;
- The history of the mediaeval and modern editions of some passages and of the entire text of both treatises respectively;
- Their restoration to the author and the relevant modern scholarship;
- The assessment of the reliability of the currently possessed edition in *PG* 75.

In addition, I have also listed all the excerpts presently known to us in the *Appendix*.

2.1 The dating of the two treatises

2.1.1 External and internal evidence

Modern scholars generally agree that the two treatises must have been written before the Council of Ephesus, i.e. before 431. In support of this dating we have two contemporary proofs (one by Marius Mercator, the other by Theodoret) as well as a later evidence, i.e. Theodoret's *Letter* 113 written *to Pope Leo*. For the sake of illustrating better how the time frame can be restricted, I shall start with the latter.

In his *Letter* 113 written after his deposition in 449 Theodoret gives an account of his earlier works. The following passage was the subject of long scholarly disputes:

> I have in my possession what I wrote twenty years ago; what I wrote eighteen, fifteen, twelve years ago; against Arians and Eunomians, against Jews and Greeks; against the magi in Persia; on universal Providence; and others *on theology and on the divine incarnation*.[52]

The title of the treatise we are concerned with is the one put in *italics*. *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione* were preserved under the name of Cyril.[53] The original Greek text says: ἕτερα δὲ περὶ θεολογίας, καὶ τῆς θείας ἐνανθρωπήσεως. The question whether the author lists his works at all in a chronological or counter-chronological order cannot be ascertained. For example, his tracts *Against the Jews and Greeks* [τὰ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἕλληνας] must well predate Ephesus, since he mentions them at the beginning of his *Expositio rectae fidei* also,[54] which is considered as being an early work, written well before the Nestorian controversy.[55] The work against the Greeks has been identified with

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[52] *SC* 111, 64.
[53] See *PG* 75, 1147-90 and 1419-78.
[54] τὸν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων – see *PG* 6, 1208A.
[55] This is the opinion of Marcel Richard, 'L'activité littéraire de Théodoret avant le concile d'Éphèse', *RSPT*, 24 (1935), 83-106 (p. 103) and in essence, with some reserves, of Jean-Noël Guinot, 'L'*Expositio rectae fidei* et le traité *Sur la Trinité et l'Incarnation* de Théodoret de Cyr: deux types d'argumentation pour un même propos?', *RA*, 32 (2001), 39-74 (pp. 69-74). The controversy around the dating of *Expositio rectae fidei* is to be found in R. V.

the *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, whereas for the former Richard erroneously pointed out three manuscript sources in Florence and in the Vatican.[56] The lost works 'against Arians and Eunomians' are seemingly referred to in Ch. 3 of *De Trinitate*,[57] and reckoned among the pre-Ephesian works of Theodoret by M. Richard, yet he places them after the work written against the Jews and Greeks. Paul Bauchman Clayton reaches the same conclusion.[58] One may argue that in his quoted letter Theodoret enumerates the years and his works in a chronological sequence, as follows:

- 'Against Arians and Eunomians' and 'against Jews and Greeks' as having been written 'twenty years ago', i.e. in the same year of 429 (thus, the order would not matter so much);
- 'Against the magi in Persia' written 'eighteen years ago', i.e. in 431;
- 'On universal Providence' written 'fifteen years ago', i.e. in 434;[59]
- 'On theology and on the divine incarnation' written 'twelve years ago', i.e. in 437.

Despite the fact that this seems to be a plausible explanation, further evidence coming from Marius Mercator as well as from Theodoret himself will show that the Bishop of Cyrus did not strictly follow a chronological order when he presented his works to Pope Leo, but simply gave him an incomplete account of his previous theological activity. The list is not exhaustive, since all the polemics against Cyril are missing (the *Refutation of the Anathemas*, the so-called *Pentalogus* written allegedly against Cyril's Ephesian council, Theodoret's *Defence of Diodore and Theodore* against Cyril etc.), but not only they (e.g. also his *Commentaries*, including the *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles*, written in 436-38).[60] Theodoret obviously does not intend to incriminate himself by quoting his works against Cyril as being proofs of his orthodoxy, yet he feels comfortable to mention *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*, which might suggest his own judgement concerning the two treatises as not being offensive to Cyrilline theology. In the light of the evidence due to be presented below I would argue that there is no purposeful chronological sequence in the above enumeration: the author merely searches in his memory for some works that may be acceptable for Leo and notes them down in the order in which they come to his mind. Thus, for the time being, let us place the works in the widest time-span provided, i.e. between 20 and 12 years before 449, thus, between 429 and 437.

Sellers, 'Pseudo-Justin's *Expositio rectae fidei*: A Work of Theodoret of Cyrus', *JTS*, 46 (1945), 145-60 and in M. F. A. Brok, 'The Date of Theodoret's *Expositio Rectae Fidei*', *JTS*, n. s. 2 (1951), 178-83.

[56] See M. Richard, 'L'activité littéraire de Théodoret', 89, note 4. Unfortunately, the text entitled ἐρωτήσεις κατὰ Ἰουδαίων μετὰ καὶ χαριεστάτων λύσεων is only a florilegium of the *Quaestiones* and does not preserve any fragment of Theodoret's *Adversus Iudaeos*. See M. Brok, 'Un soi-disant fragment du traité Contre les Juifs de Théodoret de Cyr', *RHE*, 45 (1950), 487-507; Jean-Noël Guinot, 'Les fondements scripturaires de la polémique entre les Juifs et chrétiens dans les commentaires de Théodoret de Cyr', *ASE* 14 (1997), 153-78 (p. 176, note 86).

[57] τὰς μὲν οὖν αἱρετικὰς βλασφημίας ἐν ἑτέροις ἤδη συγγράμμασιν διηλέγξαμεν (*PG* 75, 1149C).

[58] M. Richard, 'L'activité littéraire de Théodoret', 103; Clayton, 'Theodoret', 137.

[59] The dating of this work was largely debated: some place it before 431, others argue for a date subsequent to 435. See Quasten, *Patrology*, III, 544-45.

[60] The dating of this *Commentary* was fixed by Parvis, 'Theodoret on Paul', 339. Nevertheless, cf. F. Cocchini, 'L'esegesi paolina di Teodoreto di Cirro', *ASE*, 11 (1994), 511-32.

Marius Mercator in his anti-Nestorian work (written between 428 and 432, during the author's stay in Constantinople) gives three quotations from *De incarnatione* under the name of Theodoret.[61] These fragments were later published by Jean Garnier in his *Auctarium Tomi IV Operum Theodoreti* under the title θεωδορήτου Πενταλόγιον [περὶ] ἐνανθρωπήσεως, as well as in his edition of Marius Mercator's works. The two codices used by Garnier were Codex Palatinus 234 (part of the *Collectio Palatina*) and Codex Bellovacensis. Garnier preferred to use Bellovacensis for his edition of Mercator.[62]

These quotations of Mercator provide important information concerning the dating of *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*.[63] The excerpts are preserved together with a few others coming from a (now lost) work of Theodoret entitled Πενταλόγος, in Latin *Pentalogus* (rendered as *Pentalogium* by Garnier), written perhaps against Cyril's Ephesian council. Modern scholarship ascertained that *De incarnatione* and the *Pentalogus* were two entirely separate works of the Bishop of Cyrus.[64]

The excerpts of Marius Mercator were first identified by Albert Ehrhard, who in fact restored the two treatises to Theodoret.[65] As we have said above, Mercator wrote his work in Constantinople between 428 and 432. If we compare this with Theodoret's quoted *Letter* 113, we have to place the genesis of Theodoret's work between 429 and 432, consequently, the theory concerning Theodoret's chronological consistency in his *Letter* 113 must be dropped.

The third evidence in favour of a pre-432 dating comes again from Theodoret himself. In his article 'Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets', Eduard Schwartz mentions another letter of Theodoret written to the people of Constantinople shortly after the Council of Ephesus – preserved in the *Collectio Casinensis* 129 and published in *ACO* – in which both treatises are mentioned.[66] The text itself suggests that some time must have passed since Theodoret wrote the work:

> Si vero vacare potuero, et ea quae de Sancta Trinitate et de divina dispensatione olim a me scripta sunt, dirigo vobis (*SC* 429, 150).

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[61] The excerpts are to be found in the *Appendix*.

[62] *Beati Theodoreti Episcopi Cyri Operum Tomus V,* Nunc primum in lucem editus, Cura et Studio Joannis Garnerii, presbyteri e Societate Jesu, opus posthumum (Paris: 1684), 40-50. Repr. in *PG* 84, 65-88; *Marii Mercatoris S. Augustino aequalis Opera quaecumque extant*, Prodeunt nunc primum studio Joannis Garnerii Societatis Jesu presbyteri (Paris: 1673), Pars posterior, 272. Repr. in *PL* 48, 1075-76. As mentioned above, Garnier had preferred *Bellovacensis*, claiming that it was better. Nevertheless, he did not furnish any substantial evidence in support of this, as Schwartz rightly observed, 'quod uno codice Bellovacensi uteretur, eo excusavit quod melior esset, argumentis tamen vel omnino lectionibus variis non adductis' – see *ACO* I, 5, p. VII.

[63] See *PL* 48, 1075-76.

[64] See e.g. Eduard Schwartz, 'Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*, 1 (1922), 30-40 (p. 38) and Marcel Richard, 'Les citations de Théodoret conservées dans la chaîne de Nicétas sur l'Évangile selon Saint Luc', *RB*, 43 (1934), 88-96.

[65] Albert Ehrhard, 'Die Cyrill von Alexandrien zugeschriebene Schrift Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως ein Werk Theodorets von Cyrus', *ThQ*, 70 (1888), 179-243, 406-50, 623-53 (p. 627).

[66] Schwartz, 'Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets', 31. Cf. *ACO* I, 4, 81-85, esp. p. 85, line 7.

Yvan Azéma, the editor of Theodoret's correspondence, places the writing of the *Letter to the people of Constantinople* to the first half of the year 432, after the composition of the famous *Letter* 151 *to the monks of the East* (*SC* 429, 94-129), to which the former makes an allusion (*SC* 429, 148).[67] The *Letter to the monks* was composed during the winter of 431-32.[68]

At this point we can already push back the time of composition of *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione* before the first half of the year 432. Furthermore, the expression 'olim' in the quotation above cannot refer to something written immediately before the letter itself (the Greek expression might have been πρόσφατον, προσφάτως or even μακράν, since all these are used by our author in his works, the latter more frequently). In order to see this, we have to analyse in some detail the environment of the above reference to the treatise, which is the last in the line of some works produced by Theodoret since Ephesus. The sentence in the letter to the people of Constantinople preceding the reference to *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione* reads:

> Direximus autem vobis et ea quae a nobis ad monachos sanctissimos scripta sunt, et divinorum dogmatum latius opus habens et claram contrariorum convictionem. Super haec autem direxi vobis lectionem quam exposui sanctissimae et amatrici Dei congregationi, et ea quae ad Deo amicissimos episcopos a nobis dicta sunt, qui discere voluerunt quae sit eorum quae moventur causa; petierunt enim a nobis, hanc eis manifestam statueremus et claram. Si vero vacare potuero […].[69]

We need to examine this passage in order to determine whether Theodoret could have had enough time to compose *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione* between the end of the Council of Ephesus (August 431) and the writing of the above letter.

Thus, after mentioning the *Letter to the monks*, which he sends to the people of Constantinople, he speaks of a work which treats the divine dogmas more widely or in some detail and refutes clearly the contrary opinions: 'et divinorum dogmatum latius opus habens et claram contrariorum convictionem'.[70] Azéma identifies this with the *Pentalogos*, i.e. with the five books written against Cyril and his council of Ephesus, fragments of which are to be found in the *Collectio Palatina* (*ACO* I, 5, 165-170) and in

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[67] 'Première moitié de 432, postérieure à la lettre C4 aux moines à laquelle elle fait allusion' (*SC* 429, 130, note 1). The allusion in the *Letter to the people of Constantinople* to the one sent to the monks: 'direximus autem vobis et ea quae a nobis ad monachos sanctissimos scripta sunt' (*SC* 429, 148).

[68] *SC* 429, 96, note 1.

[69] *SC* 429, 148-50.

[70] Azéma finds the version 'convisionem' retained by Schwartz surprising, since that would be hardly translatable otherwise than σύνοψιν, which cannot be found in Theodoret in this sense, and the only example cited (*Index graecus*, *PG* 84, 1131) is in a letter of Emperor Constantine (Theodoret, *HE* I, 16 = *PG* 82, 957C). Therefore he proposes the reading 'convictionem' (ἔλεγχον) in the well-founded sense of 'refutation' (*SC* 429, 150, note 1). The term ἐλέγχω and its other forms are abundantly present in Theodoret's works including his *Correspondence*, *Commentaries*, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, *Eranistes*, *HE*, *Historia religiosa*, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* etc. and also in *De Trinitate* (*PG* 75, 1149C, 1181D, 1185C and D) and in *De incarnatione* (*PG* 75, 1428A – title of Chapter 9, 1429D, 1433B, 1441D, 1460B, 1461C, 1464A). Further, it is to be found twice in the *Letter to the monks* written shortly before the one to the people of Constantinople, in both cases in the sense of 'refutation' (*SC* 429, 112, line 215; 124, line 387).

the *Catena of Luke* by Nicetas of Heracleia.[71] Although the work is lost now, being banned in 553, it was still included in the large Theodoret-codex described by Photius without its genuine title, as shown by Schwartz.[72] The work must have been somewhat voluminous, not merely because it contained five λόγοι, but also because the author himself described it as a 'latius opus', whereas for example he considers *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione* as being 'a midway' between lengthy exposition and laconic briefness.[73] Thus, it may well be assumed that the *Pentalogos* was considerably longer than the double treatise *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*, which then presupposes a reasonable amount of time for composition, which must fall entirely between the autumn of 431 and the winter of 431-32.

Further, in the same fragment, the author refers to two different texts (lectures) he had uttered: the first probably in front of a congregation,[74] the second in front of an audience of bishops. Although these two presentations cannot be identified,[75] from the context it may be concluded that they were also written and presented after the Council of Ephesus, since the author says that the bishops 'wanted to know the cause of these troubles, therefore they demanded from us to present [state, explain] this for them manifestly and clearly'. Now, of course, some 'trouble' indeed was there before the council itself, for example the battle around the 12 Cyrilline *Anathemas* etc., yet the Antiochenes seemed to be confident of winning the battle, since Nestorius himself demanded repeatedly the convocation of an ecumenical council against what he thought was 'the Apollinarianism' of Cyril. Thus, the council itself and its outcome (i.e. the emperor favouring Cyril's council and not the one of John of Antioch) must have been a true disappointment, if not a major surprise for the Antiochenes and thus for Theodoret, as we see it in his letters written from Ephesus and Chalcedon. Therefore, the phrase 'eorum quae moventur' above fits more the events in Ephesus and its aftermath, than the controversy preceding it. The *Letter to the monks* written probably some weeks before the one to Constantinople depicts the state of the church using similarly negative images: the phrase τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατάστασις at the beginning of the letter as well as the picture of the holy ship in the tempest resembles very much 'quae moventur'.

Moreover, the letter to the people in Constantinople was written upon the request of the congregation (their letter to Theodoret is no longer extant), which remained faithful to Nestorius,[76] and this may well have been the case of the other community also.[77] Thus, the author thought that to the present letter he may well enclose the other discourse also given for a larger audience as well as the clarification he has presented in front of some

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[71] M. Richard, 'Les citations de Théodoret', 88-96. See the *Appendix* also.
[72] Schwartz, 'Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets', 39. Cf. Photius, *Bibliothèque*, ed. by René Henry, Collection Byzantine, 8 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1959-77), I, 30-32.
[73] See e.g. Ch. 3 of *De Trinitate* (*PG* 75, 1449CD) and its analysis in Ch. 3 of the present work.
[74] Schwartz even suggests that the hardly readable text of the manuscript might refer to the congregation of Antioch (see *ACO* I, 4, 2, 85, note to line 4).
[75] See *SC* 429, 151, note 3.
[76] *SC* 429, 131, note 2.
[77] Schwartz's solution concerning the congregation of Antioch as the addressee may thus be probable.

bishops, who most probably favoured the cause of Nestorius. Thus, these two presentations fall again between the Council of Ephesus and the end of the year 431.[78]

Before trying to summarise all the literary production of our author between the end of the Council and the composition of the letter to Constantinople, we have to take into account his letters written as well as his other duties performed in the period.

The extant letters of Theodoret written between the Council of Ephesus and the first half of 432 are the following:

Correspondent/Title	Time of composition	Reference
Several letters written from Ephesus to the Emperor, Empresses and bishops Nos. 152-62	July-August 431	*PG* 83, 1440D-1463D
Andrew of Samosata	Beginning of August 431	*SC* 429, 72-79
Alexander of Hierapolis	Sept.-Oct. 431	*SC* 429, 80-95
Letters of the Eastern Commissioners to the Emperor etc. Nos. 163-68	Sept.-Oct. 431	*PG* 83, 1464A-1473B
Alexander of Hierapolis No. 169	Sept.-Oct. 431	*PG* 83, 1473B-1476A
Bishop Rufus No. 170	Oct. 431	*PG* 83, 1476A-1481D
Alexander of Hierapolis	Turn of 431-432	*SC* 429, 156-59
The monks of the East	Winter of 431-432	*SC* 429, 96-129
The people of Constantinople	First half of 432	*SC* 429, 130-51

One has to add to the above all the duties Theodoret had to perform during and after the Council of Ephesus, including several drafts of the later *Formula of Reunion*, which was initially the *Antiochene* or *Eastern Formula*,[79] his active participation as a commissioner in the debates held in front of the Emperor in September 431, the Antiochenes' travel to Ancyra (Galatia), and their two conciliabula at Tarsus in Cilicia and later in Antioch[80] in order to see how busy and stressful was the second half of the year 431 as well as the beginning of the following one for the Bishop of Cyrus. If we take into account the possible length of the *Pentalogus*, which must have been Theodoret's first priority in terms of theological writing (since on that could largely depend the fate of the Antiochene cause still hanging in the balance), despite his generally amazing productivity amongst unfavourable circumstances, it is highly unlikely that between the end of the

[78] Theodoret was very highly esteemed in Antioch, in Cyrus and in the capital at all times. Among the numerous evidences, which testify that his fame as a competed with that of Chrysostom, is e.g. his *Letter* 147 *to John, Bishop of Germanicia*, written in 449. See *NPNF*, III, 323-24. We may therefore assume that clarifying theological presentations were demanded quite often from the Bishop of Cyrus subsequent to the Council of Ephesus.

[79] Hefele, *A History of the Councils*, III, 93-94.

[80] Hefele, *A History of the Councils*, III, 97-104. On p. 103 Hefele mentions Theodoret's polemic against the adherents of Cyril written in the same period, fragments of which are extant. He held a discourse before departing from Chalcedon also (Ibid., 111). See also Ibid., III, 117-18.

Council of Ephesus[81] and the composition of the *Letter to the people of Constantinople* he could have produced two works so different in tone and style from the bitterness of his letters written in the period.

To return once again to the above quoted extract from the *Letter to the people of Constantinople*: its most likely explanation is that whilst Theodoret is sending all his *recent* compositions (letters, works, presentations) for the use of the community with the letter itself, he promises that once he can find some spare time ['si vero vacare potuero'] he shall send them also the works he had written 'some time ago', i. e. before the ones he is sending. The excuse of 'finding spare time' can easily mean that the work is simply not at hand, since the author has written it before the others and has not enough time at the moment to try to find it (even less to copy it) amongst the possibly many dozens of documents of his own or sent to him by others.

Therefore, we may conclude that the composition of both tracts predated the Council of Ephesus, thus must have been written before June 431.

2.1.2 A possible post-Ephesian retouching

Although admitting that they were composed before Ephesus, Marcel Richard argues that the second treatise was retouched after the council in order to make it more compliant with the immediate issues and demands of the time.[82] The chapters he thinks underwent this second redaction were 31, 32 and 35, less surely 21, 22 and 24. Clayton shares this opinion also.[83]

The limits of the present work are insufficient in order to take every argument in detail, yet a few points would still need clarification. The 'naming' of Christ in the course of *De incarnatione* as being the proper name of the Incarnate God-man (including Ch. 24) will be analysed in some detail: the issue lies at the heart of the treatise and is most probably not a subsequent addition. The fact that the rejection of teaching two πρόσωπα in Ch. 31 is again germane to the work and not a later insertion[84] is shown by the discovery of the genuine form of the title of Ch. 21, where, following the textual corruption of the original πρόσωπον, it was replaced by Mai and thus in *PG* by Λόγος.[85] Thus the titles – and to some extent the contents – of Chapters 21 and 31 are parallel to each other (Ch. 31 summarising the issue presented in Ch. 21), a characteristic of Theodoret's writing style as it appears abundantly in *De incarnatione*.[86]

The rejection of κρᾶσις in Ch. 32 – although it appears there for the first time – is in harmony with the rest of the treatise. Moreover, Chapters 31-32 are meant to be

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[81] The more likely date is 31 July, although the acts render 31 August. See Hefele, *A History of the Councils*, III, 71. Theodoret departed from Ephesus on 20 August. See *NPNF*, III, 336.
[82] M. Richard, 'L'activité littéraire de Théodoret', 95-99.
[83] Clayton, 'Theodoret', 195-98.
[84] Cf. M. Richard, 'L'activité littéraire de Théodoret', 95.
[85] See Lebon, 'Restitutions'. His hypothesis concerning the deliberate alteration of the text is successfully discarded by Guinot, 'L'*Expositio* et le traité…', 59, note 64; see also István Pásztori-Kupán, 'An unnoticed title in Theodoret of Cyrus' Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως', *JTS*, 53 (2002), 102-11 (p. 108, note 16).
[86] I. Pásztori-Kupán, 'An unnoticed title', 108-9.

terminologically clarifying conclusions, which could mean that they were written in their entirety after Ephesus, since one could easily argue against the terms συνάφεια and κοινωνία as being offensive to Cyrilline Christology, despite being preceded by the term ἕνωσις, thus rejecting the whole Ch. 32, without which, however, the entire work lacks its conclusion. For the sake of comparison, the last chapter (i.e. Ch. 28) of *De Trinitate* is the exact terminologically clarifying parallel of Ch. 32 of *De incarnatione*, which in its turn contains important expressions not found in the body of the treatise on the Trinity: e.g. μονάς, συγχύσις, ἀλλοτρίωσις,[87] yet nobody could claim that these were alien to the structure or to the message of the tract. Further, the title of Ch. 28 of *De Trinitate* is also descriptive: ἀνακεφαλαίωσις τῆς πίστεως. Could Chapters 31 and 32 have a similar function at the end of the Christological discussion? M. Richard does not infer that Ch. 28 of *De Trinitate* might have also been written subsequently to the Council of Ephesus, moreover, I think he did not fully assess the meaning of the two concluding Chapters (34 and 35) of *De incarnatione* either.

Here we arrive at one of the main arguments of M. Richard concerning a possible post-Ephesian retouching, namely Ch. 35 of *De incarnatione*, which asserts a juxtaposition of θεοτόκος and ἀνθρωποτόκος, an idea later dropped by Theodoret in the *Formula of Reunion*. The Bishop of Cyrus defends this abandonment of ἀνθρωποτόκος in his *Letter* 16 written to Bishop Irenaeus shortly before the Latrocinium.[88] As Richard argues, if the juxtaposition had been included already in the original (i.e. pre-Ephesian) form of the work, the question should have been addressed earlier, e.g. at the beginning of Ch. 20 or in Ch. 23 consecrated entirely to the virgin birth, and not 'among the final considerations, which form the conclusion of the work and already occupy the whole Chapter 34'.[89]

M. Richard seems to have overlooked the fact that Ch. 34 of *De incarnatione* is in fact the closure of *De Trinitate* and not of *De incarnatione*. The same themes reappear here, including the delicate question of the Filioque and not at all accidentally. If the author intended to summarise the main points of Trinitarian orthodoxy, including the respect for the ὅρος of the Fathers, he certainly succeeded in doing it in Ch. 34 of *De incarnatione*. In the same fashion, Ch. 35 is the conclusion of *De incarnatione*, which contains the juxtaposition of θεοτόκος and ἀνθρωποτόκος in the form of a rhetorical summation and does not seem to be a later addition. It provides an epigrammatic solution to the whole pre-Ephesian controversy at the very end, and indeed, the usually most remembered part of the work. This in fact could well have been one of the author's main intentions, i.e. to furnish a solid theological ground to what was regarded as being a particularly Antiochene heritage[90] followed in a more stubborn manner by Nestorius than by his friend, yet Theodoret – at least at the stage preceding Ephesus – hoped to be able to give this phrase a positive theological interpretation.

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[87] *PG* 75, 1188BC.
[88] *SC* 98, 58.
[89] 'au milieu des considérations finales qui forment la conclusion de l'ouvrage et occupent déjà tout le chap. 34'. M. Richard, 'L'activité littéraire de Théodoret', 99.
[90] The juxtaposition probably derives from Diodore and is expressed by Theodore. See Chapter 4, section *The ontological importance of 'naming'* of the present work.

It is true that the Bishop of Cyrus did not cling to the conjunction of the two expressions in the manner of Nestorius,[91] yet it had been part of his pre-Ephesian concerns. Thus, as observed also by M. Richard, he seems to join the two terms in his refutation of the first Cyrilline anathema.[92] Since the juxtaposition is missing from the *Antiochene Formula* drawn up by Theodoret, which later became the *Formula of Reunion*, yet it reappears in his *Letter to the monks of the East*,[93] the French scholar concluded that its insertion into the concluding chapter of *De incarnatione* must have happened after Ephesus, when the author was again under the influence of the Nestorian controversy.[94] In my opinion it may have well been the other way around. The *Antiochene Formula* was drawn up in 431 perhaps still with the hope of achieving peace with the other party at the cost of sacrificing the term ἀνθρωποτόκος. Thus, upon seeing that even this substantial compromise (which in fact alienated e.g. Alexander of Hierapolis)[95] did not bring any result, Theodoret could have justifiably decided to revert – at least for the time being – to his pre-Ephesian position of the *Refutatio* and of *De incarnatione*. This could also explain why the quotation of the *Antiochene Formula* in his *Letter to the monks of the East* (written during the winter of 431-32) stops exactly before the sentence concerning the explanation of the title θεοτόκος applied to Virgin Mary,[96] since later in the letter the two terms appear side by side, as mentioned above. The juxtaposition in Ch. 35 of *De incarnatione*, nevertheless, is not meant to be offensive to but rather reconciliatory with Cyrilline Christology.[97]

Therefore, although it is undeniable that *De incarnatione* shows the signs of a hasty editing during the Nestorian controversy, it seems that we have no sufficient reasons to doubt that the composition of the entire work fell before the Council of Ephesus, i.e. between the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy and the summer of 431.[98] From among the many examples one may find, some excerpts show clearly that the *Refutation of the Anathemas* and *De incarnatione* were written at about the same time, yet the latter lacks entirely the harshness of the former.[99] The composition of the two works is thus likely to have fallen between 429 (to take into account Theodoret's own testimony of his *Letter to Pope Leo*) and the middle of 431.

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[91] See e.g. Friedrich Loofs, *Nestoriana* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1905), 191, and 297-313.

[92] οὐκ ἀνθρωποτόκον [μόνον], ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοτόκον τὴν παρθένον προσαγορεύομεν. See *ACO* I, 1, 6, 109. Cf. M. Richard, 'L'activité littéraire de Théodoret', 97.

[93] *SC* 429, 122, lines 348-49 and 354.

[94] M. Richard, 'L'activité littéraire de Théodoret', 98.

[95] The omission of ἀνθρωποτόκος from the *Antiochene Formula* was not accepted by the entire Antiochene party. See e.g. Hefele, *A History of the Councils*, III, 94.

[96] See *PG* 83, 1420A and *SC* 429, 102-104. Cf. with the entire text of the *Formula* in G. Ludwig Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 3rd edn (Breslau: E. Morgenstern, 1897), 215-16.

[97] See its analysis in Chapter 4 of the present work.

[98] The opening sentence of *De Trinitate*, preserved only in Severus, shows that the times when the author started the composition of the first work were already turbulent. See Ch. 3 of the present work.

[99] Cf. e.g. Theodoret's answer to the 10th Cyrilline *Anathema* in *ACO*, I, 1, 6, 136, lines 22-30 with Chapter 21 of *De incarnatione*, *PG* 75, 1457CD. This fragment is frequently quoted by Severus, yet only the passage from the counter-statement is condemned by Constantinople 553 (*ACO* IV, 1, 131, lines 10-16), which does not quote *De incarnatione* 21 despite of the excerpts criticised by Severus, who already noted this resemblance. See Lebon, 'Restitutions', 530, note 1.

Thus, based on the available information, we have tried to establish as best as we could the time of the composition of the two treatises. It is probably fair to assume that a more precise dating would have to emerge from a further, at present unavailable or yet undiscovered evidence.[100]

2.2 The textual tradition

Whilst trying to present the handing down of the two works from the time of their genesis to our day, we have to accept that the available manuscript tradition is very narrow, whereas the history of the editions begins practically in the nineteenth century. There are in fact two somewhat different ways in which one could present the journey through history of *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*:

1. By enlisting the results of modern scholarship, thus following the chronological order of the appearance of relevant articles and studies;
2. By trying to reconstruct the chronology of the textual tradition of the tracts from 431 until their latest publication, whilst referring to the relevant scholarly contributions in the order demanded by this historical presentation.

Since a critical edition of the two tracts – which could tell us the story of the handing down – is not yet available, I have chosen to present the textual tradition following the second option.

2.2.1 Manuscripts of ancient and mediaeval authors

Marius Mercator

The name of Marius Mercator has already been mentioned in connection with the dating of the treatises. He is in fact the only contemporary author who quotes from *De incarnatione*, providing us with three fragments of the work in a Latin translation in 432. As mentioned above, Mercator gives these quotations as if they were allegedly from the *Pentalogos*. This 'impious fraud' of the Latin author caused some misunderstandings in later editions of Theodoret. Another issue involving Mercator's fragments is the chapter numbering, which will be dealt with a little later.

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[100] In his analysis of Theodoret's *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* Glenn Melvin Cope signalled another possible reference to *De Trinitate*, yet it does not provide any information concerning the dating of the treatise: ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, κατὰ τῶν τῆς τούτου χάριτος ἐρήμων αἱρετικῶν τρεῖς συνέγραψα λόγους (*PG* 83, 457D). 'I have composed three books concerning the Holy Spirit against the barren heresies of this grace.' See Glenn Melvin Cope, 'An Analysis of the Heresiological Method of Theodoret of Cyrus in the *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Catholic University of America, Washington D.C., 1990), 232, note 84. As results from Marcel Richard's analysis, Theodoret composed another work before Ephesus entitled either *Adversus Macedonianos* or *De Spiritu Sancto*, which together with e.g. *Expositio rectae fidei* could then make *De Trinitate* as being the third book about the Holy Spirit. Cf. M. Richard, 'L'activité littéraire de Théodoret', 103.

Severus of Antioch

As shown by Joseph Lebon,[101] in the fifth chapter of the third book of his *Contra impium Grammaticum* written around 520 Severus of Antioch quotes both from *De Trinitate* and from *De incarnatione* as from a work of Theodoret. In fact he is the only theologian who cites *De Trinitate* under the name of its real author.[102] The citations found by Lebon in the work of the Bishop of Antioch preserved in Syriac show that the two treatises – especially the second one – were well known to Severus, who criticised those parts of Theodoret's argument which were unacceptable for their non-Chalcedonian Christology.[103] The general title Severus had given to Theodoret's work was Περὶ θεολογίας τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας, which corresponds substantially with the one mentioned by the bishop of Cyrus in his *Letter to Pope Leo*. Lebon also mentions the third – in 1930 still unpublished – book of Severus' *Contra Grammaticum*, in which references to Περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως are made (British Library Addit. 12157, fol. 145^{v}).[104]

Severus is an important source concerning the clarification of some textual differences (like the correct form of the title of Ch. 21 of *De incarnatione*), based on which Lebon suspected that the pseudepigraphy was done on purpose by one of the neo-Chalcedonian theologians.[105] The French scholar obviously did not have access to the only surviving manuscript of the two treatises, Vat. gr. 841, based on which Guinot successfully dismissed the theory of a deliberate text alteration and of a sixth century pseudepigraphy motivated by doctrinal considerations.[106] Further, the chapter numbering differences between the Vat. gr. 841 and Mercator's as well as Severus's quotations have also been solved by the locating of two unnoticed chapter titles:

1. As observed by Eduard Schwartz, the fragment ὅτι εἰ ὁ θεὸς Λόγος ἦν ἀντὶ νοῦ ἐν τῷ ληφθέντι, καὶ ὁ διάβολος δικαιολογίαις χρήσαιτο ἂν εὐλόγοις, being currently part of the text of Ch. 15 in Vat. gr. 841, was in fact the title of a new chapter, overlooked by the copyist of the manuscript and included into the body of the treatise, which resulted in the defective numbering of the subsequent chapters.[107]
2. The second copying error of the same kind occurred during the copying of the current Ch. 29, where the following one-time chapter title had been overlooked and included into the body of the treatise, decreasing the further numbering of the chapters by two:

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[101] Lebon, 'Restitutions', 524-36.
[102] Until recently the beginning of the first sentence of *De Trinitate* quoted by Severus has been the only known fragment of the work apart from Vat. gr. 841 itself. See below, under *Euthymius*.
[103] The excerpts are listed in the *Appendix* according to Lebon's article 'Restitutions', which also refers to the following edition: Joseph Lebon, ed., trans., *Severi Antiocheni Liber Contra Impium Grammaticum, Orationis Tertiae Pars Prior*, *CSCO*, Scriptores Syri, Series 4 (Louvain: Marcel Istas, 1929), V.
[104] Lebon, 'Restitutions', 531, note 2. See also *Fragment no. 9 in Lebon* in the *Appendix*. Severus's work mentioned above is still unpublished.
[105] Lebon, 'Restitutions', 534-35.
[106] Guinot, 'L'*Expositio* et le traité…', 59, note 64.
[107] Schwartz, 'Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets', 31.

Υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ὁ προαιώνιος τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγος ηὐδόκησεν ὀνομάζεσθαι (*PG* 75, 1469C).[108]

Did the Council of Constantinople condemn the two treatises in 553?

Whilst presenting the theological issues connected with the fifth ecumenical council, Aloys Grillmeier mentions the following works of Theodoret as having to be subjected to scholarly investigation in order to establish the validity of Constantinople's judgement passed on their author: *Impugnatio XII Anathematismorum Cyrilli*, *Pentalogus*, *De theol. s. trin. et de oeconomia*, *Pro Diodoro et Theodoro*, *Ex serm. Chalc. c. Cyrill. habito*.[109]

Grillmeier, however, does not seem to infer that the two treatises we are concerned with had been also condemned in 553 together with the *Counter-statements* to Cyril's anathemas, the *Pentalogus* and the *Defence of Diodore and Theodore*. It seems that the council was not influenced by Severus's criticism concerning the two treatises of the Bishop of Cyrus, since the entire volume containing the acts and the appendix of the fifth council (i.e. *ACO* IV, 1-2) does not even mention either of them, although in *ACO* IV, 1, 130-36 the other works of Theodoret are quoted and criticised in some detail. The list includes parts of the *Refutation of the Anathemas*, of the *Letter to the Eastern monks*, of Theodoret's speech in Chalcedon (431) following the council of Ephesus, of his defence in Chalcedon (431) written in favour of Nestorius, of his *Letter to Andrew of Samosata from Ephesus*, of his *Letter to Nestorius* written after having signed the *Formula of Reunion*,[110] the probably spurious *Letter* written allegedly to John of Antioch *on the death of Cyril*,[111] and a similarly doubtful passage from a supposed allocution in Antioch after Cyril's death. An explicit proof of the condemnation of Theodoret's two treatises is therefore not to be found in the *ACO* edition of the council's documents. If we inferred a possible theory concerning an 'implicit' condemnation together with the other works, we ought to take into consideration that – even if there had been any unrecorded discussions of *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione* in Constantinople 553 – the 'impious fraud' of Mercator who ascribed the three fragments of *De incarnatione* to the *Pentalogos* may have influenced the judgement of the fifth council. Nevertheless, it is now clear that the two works are entirely different from each other. Moreover, it is also interesting that none of Severus's quotations from *De incarnatione* was listed among the doomed passages.

The general and ever-returning charge against Theodoret in the acts of the council of 553 is 'writing against true faith and against St. Cyril', which is quite vague in terms of what may or in fact should be included in the list of the condemned works. In the case of *De*

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[108] I. Pásztori-Kupán, 'An unnoticed title', 106-9.

[109] Aloys Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition, from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Gregory the Great (590-604)*, trans. by John Cawte and Pauline Allen (London: Mowbray, 1995), II/2: *The Church of Constantinople in the Sixth Century*, 443, note 514.

[110] This letter contains the famous fragment often quoted by his enemies in order to prove his alleged Nestorianism: 'his vero quae adversus tuam sanctitatem iniuste et contra leges facta sunt, nec si ambas meas manus aliquis incideret, patiar consentire, divina videlicet gratia me adiuvante et infirmitatem animae subportante'. *ACO* IV, 1, 134, lines 20-22. See Ch. 1 of the present work.

[111] John of Antioch died 4 years before Cyril, so the addressee had to be Domnus, yet the authenticity of the letter itself has never been sufficiently proven until today.

incarnatione and *De Trinitate* – when we disregard Mercator's fraud of ascription – the above general charge is not valid, since the works were not written against Cyril and his council as e.g. the *Pentalogos* was. Thus, no evidence suggests that the Council said anything about these two works.

Ebedjesu and the Syriac Codex add. 14,533 of British Library

Albert Ehrhard refers to this Syriac manuscript dating from the 8th-9th centuries in his thesis concerning the restoration of Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως to Theodoret. In this codex, among Theodoret's works translated into Syriac, Ebedjesu mentions a book entitled Περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως. There is also a citation from a tract of Theodoret, the title of which is very close to our treatise. As retranslated into Greek by Ehrhard, the title of this work would be ἐκ τοῦ λόγου περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως. As Ehrhard mentions, Syriac translations of Theodoret in his time (1888) were not yet printed.[112]

The above evidence seems to reinforce the view that the ascription of both works to Cyril may not have happened in the sixth century as Lebon suggested.[113] Moreover, Ebedjesu's testimony is not the only one we possess after Severus's *Contra Grammaticum* which still ascribes the work to Theodoret.

Nicetas of Heracleia and the manuscripts of his *Catena of Luke*

In the 11th century, more precisely in 1080, Nicetas of Heracleia wrote his *Catena of Luke*, in which he quoted from *De incarnatione* for the last time known to us under the name of its original author. He quotes sometimes entire chapters from the treatise, whilst omitting chapter titles. The only exception to this rule is the partial quotation of the chapter title found by Schwartz in the text of the current Ch. 15.[114]

Several manuscripts survived of Nicetas' *Catena*, which were described and classified by Joseph Sickenberger.[115] Following his description, I have located four manuscripts, which represent all the main branches of the manuscript tradition. Thus, apart from the text of Vat. gr. 841 edited by Migne, in my translation of *De incarnatione* and in the comments related to it[116] I made use of the following manuscripts of Nicetas' *Catena*:

- Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus gr. 1611;
- Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Parisinus gr. 208;
- Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vindobonensis theol. gr. 71;
- Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Monacensis gr. 473.

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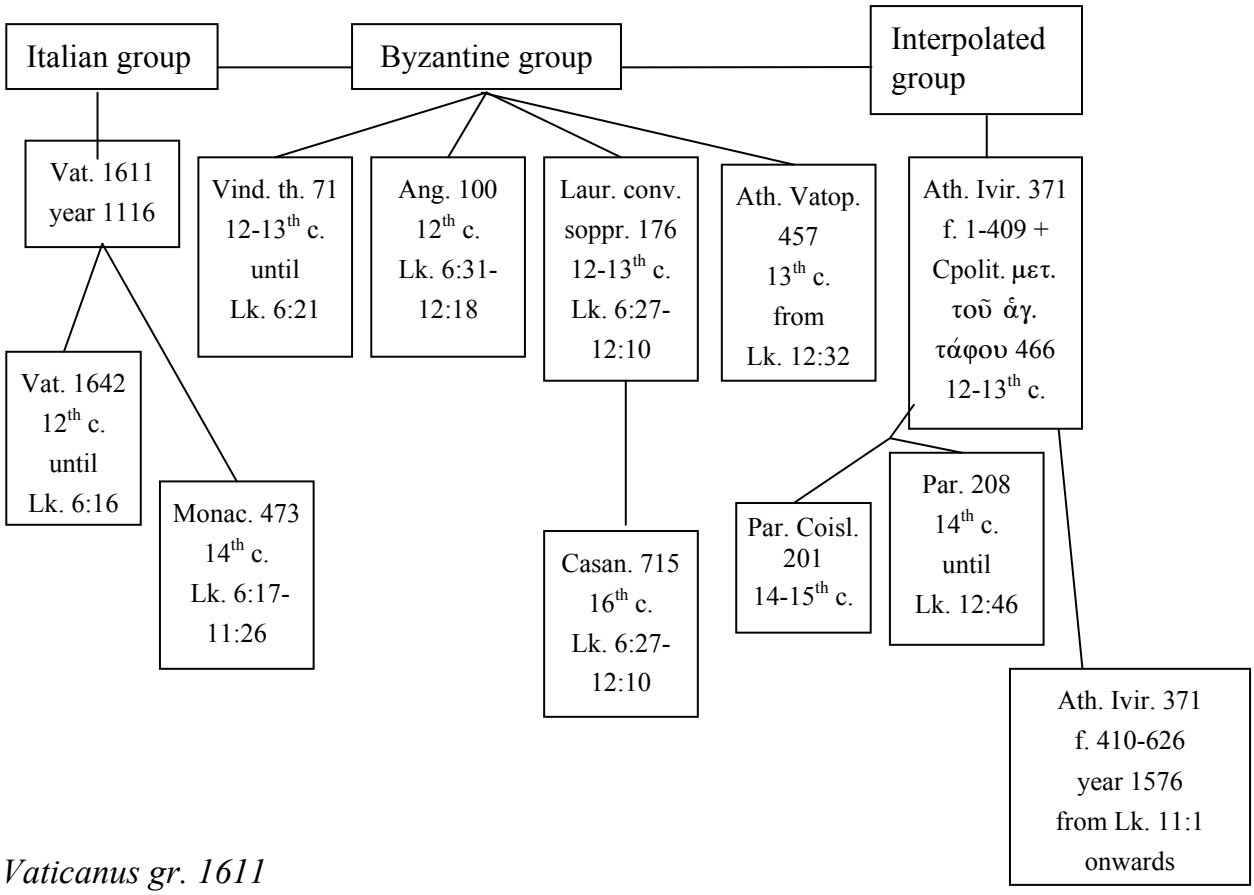
[112] *Assemanni Bibl. Orient*. III/1, 40 – Syr. Cod. add. 14, 533 of British Library (after Wright, *Catalogue* etc. II, 968). See Ehrhard, 'Die Schrift', 651.
[113] Lebon, 'Restitutions', 534-35.
[114] The quotation χρήσαιτο δ' ἂν καὶ δικαιολογίαις εὐλόγοις can be found in Vat. gr. 1611, on the right column of fol. 75^{r}, line 21 as well as in Vindob. theol. gr. 71, fol. 308^{r}, lines 12-13. For a more detailed discussion of this issue see my article 'An unnoticed title', 110.
[115] Joseph Sickenberger, 'Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia', *TU*, 22. 4 (1902), 1-118.
[116] For the first complete English translation of both tracts see István Pásztori-Kupán, *Theodoret of Cyrus*, The Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2006), 109-171.

The above manuscripts – in respect to Nicetas' quotations – are also adequate for the production of the critical edition of *De incarnatione*. I shall present them in their chronological order, but first I reproduce the scheme of the handing down of these manuscripts as it had been drawn up by Sickenberger.[117]

The manuscript tradition history of Nicetas' Catena of Luke


Italian group
Byzantine group
Interpolated group
Vat. 1611 year 1116
Vind. th. 71 12-13th c. until Lk. 6:21
Ang. 100 12th c. Lk. 6:31-12:18
Laur. conv. soppr. 176 12-13th c. Lk. 6:27-12:10
Ath. Vatop. 457 13th c. from Lk. 12:32
Ath. Ivir. 371 f. 1-409 + Cpolit. μετ. τοῦ ἁγ. τάφου 466 12-13th c.
Vat. 1642 12th c. until Lk. 6:16
Monac. 473 14th c. Lk. 6:17-11:26
Casan. 715 16th c. Lk. 6:27-12:10
Par. Coisl. 201 14-15th c.
Par. 208 14th c. until Lk. 12:46
Ath. Ivir. 371 f. 410-626 year 1576 from Lk. 11:1 onwards

Vaticanus gr. 1611

The oldest and best surviving manuscript of Nicetas' *Catena of Luke* is Vat. gr. 1611 of the Italian group, dating from the year 1116. The codex is 38.5 cm high and 30 cm wide. The number of folios is 320. The red-brown leather cover has on its back the shield of Pius IX (1846-1878), showing that the manuscript was bound during his papacy. The very distinctive characteristic of this manuscript is that only the first 12 lines are written on the entire width of the page, which occupy between 1/4 and 1/3 of an entire page, whereas the following lines are divided into two columns, obviously to enhance perspicuity. The title of the codex is on fol. 1: Βιβλίον α […] τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἐξηγήσεων τοῦ Σερρῶν […], and under that a cross followed by the main title in very long red uncial letters: Συναγωγὴ ἐξηγήσεων εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ διαφόρων ἑρμηνευτῶν παρὰ Νικήτα, διακόνου τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καὶ διδασκάλου, γεγονῖα ἐκ τῆς ἑξαημέρου. The last three

[117] Sickenberger, 'Die Lukaskatene', 60. I have used Sickenberger's abbreviations.

words are the first lemma.[118] As Robert Devreesse mentions, this manuscript contains all the fragments found by various scholars (including Garnier and Schwartz) in the other manuscripts of the *Catena*.[119] Moreover, it contains a substantial number of fragments, which do not appear in the other manuscripts.[120] Sickenberger had already noted that in Vat. gr. 1611 he encountered the reference θεοδωρήτου 40 times. He also mentions finding fragments of Περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως in Chapters 1, 2 and 5 of Nicetas' quoted work, as well as from Πενταλόγος in Chapters 2 and 5.[121]

Vindobonensis theol. gr. 71

This manuscript comes from the twelfth-thirteenth century and belongs to the Byzantine group. It contains only the first book of the *Catena* (until Luke 6:21 as mentioned above) on 424 folios of 30 cm high and 19.5 cm wide. The front and back cover carries the Austrian blazon as well as the following inscription on the ledge: CATENA SS. PAT IN EVAN. S. LUCAE. The top of fol. 1^{r} as well as fol. 424^{v} contains the remark: *Augerius de Busbecke comparavit Constantinopoli*. The title on fol. 1^{r} says: *Catena SS. Patrum in S. Lucam*. At the bottom of fol. 1^{r} the following inscription is to be found: *Augustissimae Bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis Codex Theologicus Graecus LXXI*. Another reference number (*Handschriftsnr. N 42*) is found in the same place. At least two scribes had worked on it: the first had completed fols 1-79^{v}, whereas another wrote the rest.[122]

Monacensis gr. 473

Belonging to the same Italian group with Vat. gr. 1611, Monacensis gr. 473 is from the 14th century and contains the second book of the *Catena* from Luke 6:17 until Luke 11:26 on 416 pages in the format of 24.5 x 17 cm. On page 1 the following partly destroyed inscription is to be found: […] πίναξ τοῦ παρό[ντος] δευτέρον τῶ[ν] [εἰς] τὸ [κατὰ Λουκᾶν] εὐαγγέλιον ἐξηγήσεων βιβλίου. The forms of the lemmata as well as the opening and closing remarks show the relatedness of the codex to Vat. gr. 1611. It must have arrived at the Bavarian State Library between the years 1575-95, since the catalogue of the year 1575 does not yet contain it, whereas the next one twenty years later lists it on page 2 as Cod. XI.[123]

Eduard Schwartz used these two last manuscripts of the Catena (Vindob. gr. 71 and Monac. 473) for his first compilation of the excerpts from Theodoret's treatises, including the ones from *De incarnatione*. As the German scholar mentions, he did not have access to Vat. gr. 1611, thus the line of his quotations (deriving from these two manuscripts) is incomplete. The list of excerpts was augmented on the basis of Vat. gr.

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[118] Sickenberger, 'Die Lukaskatene', 31-32.
[119] Robert Devreesse, 'Orient, antiquité', *RSPT*, 20 (1931), 559-71 (p. 568).
[120] See M. Richard, 'Les citations de Théodoret', 88-96. The excerpts of *De incarnatione* found by M. Richard in Vat. gr. 1611 are listed in the *Appendix*.
[121] Sickenberger, 'Die Lukaskatene', 96.
[122] Sickenberger, 'Die Lukaskatene', 49-51.
[123] Sickenberger, 'Die Lukaskatene', 56-58.

1611 first by Robert Devreesse and then continued by Marcel Richard.[124] The whole list of these excerpts from *De incarnatione* with their description is to be found in the *Appendix*.

Parisinus gr. 208

The codex Par. gr. 208 belonging to the third, i.e. interpolated, group of the manuscript tradition of the *Catena* is from the 14th century and contains about the first half of Nicetas' work from the beginning until Luke 12:46, with the first folio missing. The title is therefore absent, yet the further note is to be found on fol. 1: *Catena in Lucam 2440 ex Bibliotheca Eminentissimi Dñi mei Cardinalis Mazarini*.[125] This is a paper manuscript of 460 folios, which are 30 cm high and 21.5 cm wide. The brown leather cover carries on the red back side the inscription: *Catena in Lucam*. There were two almost simultaneously working scribes involved in its production: the first had copied fols 1-335^{v}, the second started from fol. 336^{r} and copied until the end, yet it may not be established whether the codex had contained initially the entire text of the *Catena* or not. The manuscript is adequate for text-critical purposes,[126] and all its Theodoret-excerpts are preserved also in Vat. gr. 1611.

Euthymius Zigabenus and his *Panoplia Dogmatica*

The earliest and in fact (apart from Vat. gr. 841 itself) the only testimony which ascribes the two treatises to Cyril dates from the twelfth century. A Byzantine theologian, Euthymius Zigabenus, in his *Panoplia Dogmatica* quoted several chapters from *De incarnatione* ascribing the work expressly to Cyril. These citations were located by Albert Ehrhard in Migne's edition of Euthymius's work in *PG* 130, 905D-912C and *PG* 130, 925A-928D. As Ehrhard mentions, one ought not forget that this ascription comes from 'a compiler' and from a time when in the East the critical approach towards the issue of proving the genuineness of a work was largely absent; thus one may not give this ascription any text-critical authority.[127]

Euthymius's quotations have a common feature with those of Nicetas: both of them omit the chapter titles even if they are quoting two or more consecutive chapters and both of them offer us one exception to this rule. The one in Euthymius is the quotation of the title of Chapter 16 of *De incarnatione* in *PG* 130, 925B.

Unfortunately, I did not have access to the manuscripts of Euthymius's *Panoplia Dogmatica*, yet based on the *PG* edition of the work I attempted to offer a solution to a so far unclear issue. Until recently it was not known whether Euthymius knew both treatises (i.e. *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*) under Cyril's name or only the second one, since no quotations were located in his *Panoplia* from *De Trinitate*. Joseph Lebon who

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[124] Schwartz, 'Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets', 32-33; Devreesse, 'Orient, antiquité', 568-69; M. Richard, 'Les citations de Théodoret', 89-94.
[125] Sickenberger, 'Die Lukaskatene', 45, note 1.
[126] Sickenberger, 'Die Lukaskatene', 44-46.
[127] Ehrhard, 'Die Schrift', 199. The excerpts are in the *Appendix*.

suspected a sixth-century neo-Chalcedonian deliberate text alteration and pseudepigraphy affecting both treatises suggested that Nicetas may have used some fragments of *De incarnatione* still pre-existing under the name of Theodoret rather than a whole treatise still attributed to this author.[128] Although Lebon's theory concerning the deliberate text alteration is contradicted by the manuscript evidence of Vat. gr. 841,[129] a question still remains: were both works ascribed to Cyril simultaneously or were they separated from each other to be linked again in Vat. 841 under the name of the Alexandrian patriarch?

In order to answer the above question I decided to recheck the *Panoplia* of Euthymius for further possible excerpts from Theodoret. The search was successful in the sense that I managed to locate five so far undiscovered fragments of Theodoret's *De Trinitate* similarly under the name of Cyril.[130] The excerpts are considerably long (in total about 3 columns in *PG*) and are from five different chapters of *De Trinitate*: 11, 13, 15, 17 and 18. Moreover, the way in which Euthymius quotes them makes also clear that he knew these fragments as coming from a separate (pseudo-) Cyrilline treatise and not as part of Cyril's other works on the Trinity, like e.g. *Thesaurus* or *De sancta et consubstantiali Trinitate*. Through his entire *Panoplia*, Euthymius is consistent in using the term τῆς ἁγίας [Τριάδος] exclusively whilst quoting from Theodoret's *De Trinitate*, and in omitting it when referring to Cyril's works, like the *Thesaurus*. I think we have sufficient reasons to believe that even if Euthymius knew only fragments of Theodoret's *De Trinitate* under Cyril's name from some patristic florilegia, yet he was aware that they were taken from a separate work, and not from any other tract of the Alexandrian patriarch. This is valid also for his quotations from *De incarnatione*, where Euthymius mentions repeatedly the most important element of the title (i.e. περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως) as we know it from Vat. gr. 841: τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Κυρίλλου ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως λόγου (*PG* 130, 905D); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως λόγου (*PG* 130, 925 A). One cannot affirm that Euthymius knew the entire text of both treatises, although this possibility cannot be excluded either. Nonetheless, it is certain that his manner of quoting both works leaves no doubt concerning Euthymius' knowledge of them as being individual tracts.

The identification of these fragments from Theodoret's virtually unquoted treatise on the Trinity may therefore entitle us to assume that the two works of the Bishop of Cyrus were not separated from each other – at least within the branch of the manuscript tradition known to Euthymius, a branch which might be of common origin with the one of Vat. gr.

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[128] Lebon, 'Restitutions', 535, note 3.

[129] The version Λόγος replacing πρόσωπον in the title of Chapter 21 of *De incarnatione* in the editions of Mai and Migne (*PG* 75, 1456A) is an erroneous rendering of the abbreviation in Vat. 841. The last line of fol. 196^{v} contains three letters resembling a sequence of α, σ, and ω, which might be a corruption of the word πρόσωπον, but certainly cannot be interpreted as Λόγος. Moreover, as shown above, the Syriac text of Severus' *Contra Grammaticum* edited by Joseph Lebon contains the expression 'parsopa' which is the equivalent of πρόσωπον (see Joseph Lebon, ed., *Severi Antiocheni Liber Contra Impium Grammaticum. Orationis tertiae pars prior*, *CSCO*, Scriptores Syri, Series 4, vol. v – Textus (Paris: Reipublicae, 1929), 66, line 3).

[130] The excerpts are listed in the *Appendix* under the title 'Five fragments of *De Trinitate* in Euthymius' *Panoplia Dogmatica*'.

841[131] – but were ascribed concurrently to Cyril of Alexandria, although the exact time and the circumstances of this pseudepigraphy cannot be ascertained as yet.

It appears that at present we do not have any substantial evidence in support of a deliberate pseudepigraphy affecting both works shortly after Severus had quoted them in his *Contra Grammaticum*. Moreover, a parallel manuscript tradition starting from the sixth century of the two tracts under the name of Theodoret and Cyril respectively is hardly conceivable, if unprovable. The improbability of such a parallel tradition is strongly suggested by the independent testimonies of Ebedjesu and of Nicetas. Therefore, one is indeed entitled to reconsider the validity of Schwartz's statement previously criticised by Lebon: 'Aus den Exzerpten ergibt sich zunächst mit Sicherheit, daß die im Vatic. 841 Cyrill zugeschriebene Schrift Περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως noch im 11. Jahrhundert unter dem Namen Theodorets ging'.[132]

Vaticanus gr. 841

The only surviving manuscript which contains both works in their entirety under the name of Cyril comes from the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The codex has 216 pages in folio format and contains several works of different authors: a treatise by Matthaus Monachus, *De materiis sacrorum canonum*, and works of Antiochus, Nestorius etc. On fol. 176^{r} in red letters written by the same hand as the previous works, there is the title of the first treatise: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλου ᾽Αλεξανδρείας περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ζωοποίου Τριάδος. On fol. 185^{r} begins, again written by the same hand, the second tract: Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως. Three works of St. Basil follow it: *De morte*, *De Spiritu Sancto*, *De Trinitate*.[133]

It is also interesting that in Vat. gr. 841 there is no indication of any author preceding the second treatise. The copyist ascribed it to Cyril on the basis of their obvious connection as it results from the first sentences of Περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως, or, if the manuscript tradition of Vat. gr. 841 were indeed of common origin with the one used by Euthymius, then both works had already been attributed to Cyril and thus handed down perhaps from the first half of the twelfth century, i.e. after Nicetas' *Catena*, but preceding the composition of Euthymius's *Panoplia*. On fols 213^{r}-216^{v} of Vat. gr. 841 the last chapters of *De Trinitate* (23-28) and the first two chapters of *De incarnatione* are reproduced.

We may also note that there is an extensive parallelism between the manuscripts of Nicetas and those of Euthymius, since these preserve almost in all cases the same transpositions in comparison with Vat. gr. 841. Therefore, they may be deriving from the same common source. On the other hand, the entire text of Vat. gr. 841 and that of the

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[131] The close connection between Euthymius's excerpts and the text of Vat. gr. 841 is notable both in the case of *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*. All the Euthymian quotations present only minor textual variations, moreover: the text of Ch. 13 of *De Trinitate* (*PG* 75, 1165AC) in Vat. gr. 841 is fully identical with his excerpt in *PG* 130, 653CD. The same is valid for the long Ch. 18 of *De incarnatione* (*PG* 75, 1448C-1452D) quoted by Euthymius in *PG* 130, 905D-909D, as well as for Chapters 17 and 19 of *De incarnatione* (*PG* 75, 1445B-1448B and 1452C-1453B), quoted by Euthymius in *PG* 130, 928AD and 909D-912C respectively. The other fragments are very close to the original also.

[132] Schwartz, 'Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets', 38.

[133] Cf. Ehrhard, 'Die Schrift', 183.

supplementary folios probably depend also on the same model; nevertheless, despite of an obvious parallelism, one is not the copy of the other.

Ehrhard had no possibility to search for other manuscripts, but as far as he knew, there was no other relevant material in the Vatican Library.[134] It was not until 1902, when Joseph Sickenberger published his study concerning Nicetas' *Catena of Luke*, that other Vatican manuscripts (including Vat. gr. 1611 and Vat. gr. 1642) were made known to contain fragments of these two works, the quotations from the former being enlisted by R. Devreesse and M. Richard.

2.2.2 The editions

Fragments of *De incarnatione* edited by Garnier, Combefis and Gallandi

We may gather from the history of these tracts that after having been criticised in 520 by Severus, the second tract having been translated into Syriac by Ebedjesu and quoted for the last time under the name of the real author by Nicetas in 1080, and after both works had been quoted by Euthymius in the twelfth century and finally copied into Vat. gr. 841 – they were very soon forgotten. There was no complete edition of the two tracts, which would precede their discovery and publication by Cardinal Angelo Mai in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, some excerpts of the second work, which were edited under different titles by mediaeval and early modern scholars, deserve a brief presentation.

The fact that the two works were forgotten as belonging to Cyril also is evinced by Jean Aubert's first edition of Cyril's works in 1638: the editor did not know about these two treatises as being written by the Alexandrian patriarch. His six large volumes comprising Cyril's oeuvre do not contain either of them, although on the single testimony of Vat. gr. 841, at that time they should have belonged there.[135]

The other negative evidence showing the temporary vanishing of these tracts from common scholarly knowledge is Jean Garnier's posthumous edition of Theodoret's works. This collection was published in 1684 after the death of the great Jesuit scholar as a fifth volume to Jacques Sirmond's four volumes containing the oeuvre of the Bishop of Cyrus.[136] Garnier, being one of the most thoroughgoing researchers of his time, listed both works among the lost ones of the Bishop of Cyrus. In this fifth posthumous volume, within his *Dissertatio II de Libris Theodoreti* (Caput IX), under the title *Libri Theodoreti, quorum sola memoria videtur superesse*, Garnier describes the following books: *Libri de Theologia atque incarnatione* (Repr. in *PG* 84, 363A-364B).[137] They are undoubtedly

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[134] In 1888 Ehrhard wrote: 'Es war mich nicht möglich, nach anderem handschriftlichen Beweismaterial zu forschen. In der Vatikanischen Bibliothek ist, soweit bekannt, keines mehr vorhanden.' See Ehrhard, 'Die Schrift', 184, note 1.

[135] Johannes Aubertus, ed., *S. P. N. Cyrilli Alexandriae Archiepiscopi Opera in VI. Tomos Tributa,* (Paris: 1638).

[136] Jacobus Sirmondus, ed., *Beati Theodoreti Episcopi Cyri Opera Omnia in Quatuor Tomos Distributa*, 4 vols (Paris: Cramoisy, 1642).

[137] Garnerius, Johannes, ed., *Beati Theodoreti Episcopi Cyri Operum Tomus V*, Nunc primum in lucem editus, Cura et studio Joannis Garnerii, presbyteri e Societate Jesu, opus posthumum (Paris: 1684), 256. It is difficult to establish who in fact published this volume. The title page mentions Edmund Martin and Joannis Boudot, but it seems very

identical with our *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*, since Garnier mentions the fragment of Theodoret's *Letter to Pope Leo* as evidence for Theodoret's having composed these tracts. As Garnier observes, neither Photius nor Nicephorus mentions the two works,[138] which the French scholar identified with five pseudo-Athanasian dialogues.[139] This identification was unanimously accepted by practically all later scholars including Cave, Oudin, Ceillier, Dupin and Migne. The first one who questioned this conclusion was Albert Ehrhard himself.[140]

This posthumous volume of Garnier has another very interesting feature. On one hand it contains the editor's statement that the work in question is lost (on p. 256). On the other hand – presumably without the knowledge of the editor (Jean Hardouin?) either – in the same volume several fragments of *De incarnatione* are published under the main title *Auctarium Tomi IV Operum Theodoreti*, having the subtitle: θεοδωρήτου πενταλόγιον [περὶ] ἐνανθρωπήσεως on 40-50.[141] Thus, the same volume contains fragments of a work whilst declaring it to be lost! This is why I think the most likely scenario was that, perhaps very soon after being copied into Vat. gr. 841, the two works faded away for a few centuries from scholarly attention.

Garnier had also published Mercator's works, together with the three Latin fragments of Theodoret's *De incarnatione*, as we have mentioned above during the discussion of the dating. The fragments of Theodoret's work gathered in the *Auctarium Tomi IV Operum Theodoreti* of Garnier contain also the excerpts of Mercator and a series of other quotations, which are to be found in Nicetas' *Catena of Luke*. That is why it has been supposed that the French scholar made use of a manuscript of the *Catena*.

This thread in fact leads us back to the manuscript Par. gr. 208. The history of its quotation by several editors in the past made this codex subject to some clarifying remarks carried out by Ed. Schwartz and M. Richard.

The Dominican father François Combefis in his *Bibliotheca Patrum Concionatoria* (published in 1662) refers to a codex from the Royal Library of Paris as the source of two

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probable that Jean Hardouin was involved in the edition also. Hardouin became librarian at the Jesuit College of Louis-Le-Grand in Paris as Garnier's successor. Moreover, in the same year when this fifth volume appeared (1684), Hardouin published Garnier's biography. Ehrhard mentions also that Hardouin published *J. Garnerii Opera Posthuma* (Francopoli: 1685). See Ehrhard, 'Die Schrift', 624.

[138] As we have quoted above, Photius mentions the *Pentalogus* in his *Bibliotheca*, but neither *De Trinitate* nor *De incarnatione*.

[139] 'Alterum istud probabilius mihi videtur: opinor enim, quae scripsisse se tradit Theodoretus de Theologia et divina incarnatione, nullatenus differre a libris tribus adversus Pneumatomachos, et duobus contra Apollinaristas compositis, qui et ipsi quinque diversi non sunt à Dialogis totidem, quos Athanasio supposuerant ii, qui Opera ipsius Commelinianis typis anno 1600. ediderunt.' See Garnerius, *Beati Theodoreti Episcopi Cyri Operum*, 256.

[140] Ehrhard, 'Die Schrift', 652.

[141] The title given by Garnier is the following: *Theodoreti Pentalogium de assumptione hominis*. The last two Latin words are the interpretation of ἐνανθρώπησις, which again substantiates the close connection between the so-called *Pentalogium* and our treatise, resulting in the often-encountered confusion of the two, generated at least in part by Mercator's fraud. When Migne reprinted these fragments in *PG* 84, 65-88 (published in 1860), whilst preserving the Greek title, he did not follow Garnier's Latin translation, but simply labelled them *Theodoreti Pentalogium de incarnatione.*

fragments of Theodoret's *Libro de incarnatione*.[142] He edited some passages from Theodoret's *De incarnatione* as well as Ch. 27 of Cyril's *Thesaurus* (!) both under the name of Theodoret only in a Latin translation. These texts – according to Combefis – were *Fragmentum I* and *Fragmentum II Ex Graeco ms. cod. Mazar.* The same author makes another reference in his mentioned work concerning *Theodoreti ex Pentalogo*, namely *Fragmentum III Ex Graeca cardin. Mazar. Catena ms*.[143] Schwartz argues that this *Codex Mazarinaeus* must be identical with Par. gr. 208, since Sickenberger had referred to this manuscript, which bears the older reference number also: *Mazarin. – Reg. 2440*.[144] This led Schwartz to conclude that this had to be the manuscript used by both contemporary scholars and editors: Combefis and Garnier.[145] Marcel Richard disputes this conclusion.[146] Another scholar, Andrea Gallandi reedited in his *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* the two Latin fragments found by Combefis, whilst preserving the same references to the *Codex Mazarinaeus*.[147]

Whichever might have been the codex used by Jean Garnier – since it seems to have been different from Par. gr. 208 used by Combefis and Gallandi – it undoubtedly was one of Nicetas' *Catena*. These fragments published on the basis of Nicetas' work by Garnier, Combefis and Gallandi are thus the only ones known to have been edited before Angelo Mai's discovery of Vat. gr. 841.

The editions of Angelo Mai and Migne

Cardinal Angelo Mai was the first modern scholar who discovered the two treatises in Vat. gr. 841 and published them twice under Cyril's name.[148] He was obviously thrilled by this discovery and was convinced about the genuineness of the work. In his footnotes commenting relevant passages from the second treatise, Mai argues about the groundless claim of the Monophysites, by which they ventured to quote Cyril in their own favour.[149] I shall give the *PG* references, since all Mai's notes are reprinted there:

> Hic quoque duas in uno Christo naturas apud Christum legimus, invitis frustra Severianis. (*PG* 75, 1456)
>
> Adhuncne Monophysitae Cyrillum erroris sui patronum impudentissime dictabant? (*PG* 75, 1472)

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[142] Combefis' *Bibliotheca Patrum Concionatoria* (Paris: 1662) was reprinted in Venice in the year 1749. Ed. Schwartz gives the fragment in question according to this second edition (II, 525-26). See Schwartz, 'Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets', 32.

[143] The reference is in vol. I, 476 according to the Venice reprint.

[144] Sickenberger, 'Die Lukaskatene', 45, note 1. See above the description of Par. gr. 208.

[145] Schwartz, 'Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets', 32. Cf. Sickenberger, 'Die Lukaskatene', 44ff.

[146] M. Richard, 'Les citations de Théodoret', 94, note 4. For the clarification of M. Richard's valid argument concerning the two different codices used by Combefis and Garnier, see point 4 under the title *Identification of the various elements in Garnier's Auctarium* in the *Appendix*.

[147] Andreas Gallandius, ed., *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum Antiquorumque Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Graeco-Latina,* 14 vols (Venice: Typographia Albritiana, 1788), IX, 418-21.

[148] Angelo Mai, ed., *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* (Rome: 1833), VIII, 27-58 (*De Trinitate*) and VIII, 59-103 (*De incarnatione*); Angelo Mai, ed., *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* (Rome: 1844), II, 1-31 (*De Trinitate*) and II, 32-74 (*De incarnatione*).

[149] See also Mai's introduction to the two works in *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* II, p. VI.

> Perspicua, mira ac peremptoria Cyrilli doctrina de naturarum in Christo distinctione! Ego vero lectores meos magnopere hortor, ut editam apud nos *Script. Vet.*, t. VI, novam Theoriani Graeci cum Armenis Syrisque Jacobitis theologicam disputationem adeant, ubi res haec luculentissime illustratur. (*PG* 75, 1473)
>
> En animae et corporis in unico homine propositum recte exemplum, quo perverse abutebantur Monophysitae. (*PG* 75, 1473-74)
>
> Sapienter hanc cautelam post natos errores exposcit Cyrillus. Etenim paulo ante Gregorius Nazianzenus, orat. 38, 13, ed. noviss. t. I, p. 671, adhuc scribebat de opere incarnationis: Ὢ τῆς καινῆς μίξεως! ὢ τῆς παραδόξου κράσεως! (*PG* 75, 1474)
>
> Recte, si utrumque simul epitheton pronuntietur; peperit enim Maria Christum Deum et hominem. Secus autem, si omisso θεοτόκος, dicatur tantummodo ἀνθρωποτόκος, in Nestorianam blasphemiam incidere necesse est (*PG* 75, 1477).[150]

The extent of Mai being deceived by the pseudepigraphy and by his own enthusiasm to have found a work under Cyril's name, which flatly contradicts most of the Monophysite claims, led him also to a faulty reading of the title of Ch. 21. Thus, he replaced the corrupted word πρόσωπον with Λόγος, without mentioning in a note that the manuscript itself was unclear.[151]

In the year 1859, Jacques-Paul Migne reprinted both works based on Mai's *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* in *PG* 75 – including all the comments and notes of the former editor – but unfortunately he had separated the two tracts from each other. Thus, *De Trinitate* ended up amongst the treatises on the Trinity of Cyril (*PG* 75, 1147-1190), whereas *De incarnatione* was reprinted in the environment of Cyril's Christological works (*PG* 75, 1419-1478). This detachment hardened further the recognition of the link between the two tracts, since the first lines of *De incarnatione* refer back to *De Trinitate*. Moreover, this separation of the two halves was not justifiable either, since Mai himself had already noted that they were found in the same codex.[152]

Migne's edition has a somewhat common peculiarity with the one of Garnier. The same texts or fragments are edited once under the name of Cyril and then under the name of Theodoret. There are in fact three volumes of the *PG* and *PL* series that we are concerned with here:

- *Marii Mercatoris Opera Omnia – PL* 48, published in 1846;
- *S.P.N. Cyrilli Opera Omnia – PG* 75, published in 1859;
- *Theodoreti Opera Omnia – PG* 84, published in 1860.

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[150] I shall return to some of these passages during the analysis of *De incarnatione* in Chapter 4.
[151] Vat gr. 841, fol. 196^{v}, last line cf. *PG* 75, 1456A as mentioned above.
[152] Mai, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, II, p. VI.

The first volume contains the three Latin quotations of Marius Mercator from Περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως, which he expressly ascribed to Theodoret.[153] Because of it being preserved in Latin and published 13 years before Migne's edition of Περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως in *PG* 75 under the name of Cyril, it is understandable how the obvious parallelisms between the texts could not be observed.

However, the second and the third volume mentioned above appeared in 1859 and 1860 respectively. The texts contained in them were in Greek, having a Latin translation. Thus, the identity of relevant parts from Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως published in *PG* 75 under the name of Cyril with most of the fragments in Theodoret's alleged *Pentalogium* taken over from Garnier's edition published in *PG* 84 was much more evident. Despite the relatively short time (one year) in which the two volumes followed each other, the identity of the relevant texts remained unnoticed. In *PG* 84, 65-66 there is a vague reference to Theodoret's *Libros de theologia et de incarnatione*, which – as we have shown – Garnier had identified with 5 dialogues 'by others wrongly attributed to Athanasius'.[154] Thus, it seems that Migne repeated the error of Garnier, publishing fragments of a work he considered as being lost, moreover: he published quite long identical texts under the names of two different authors.[155]

2.3 The restoration of both works to Theodoret

The first doubts concerning Cyril's authorship

Although the work of restoration was carried out by Ehrhard in 1888, yet he himself mentions the name of Payne Smith, who at the time was the sublibrarian of the Bodleian Library in Oxford and who in his publication of Cyril's *Commentary on Luke* from an ancient Syriac version expressed his doubts concerning Cyril's authorship of *De incarnatione*. Ehrhard did not share Smith's opinion concerning the work being written after Chalcedon.[156] We should note that Smith had also edited the original Syriac text of Cyril's *Commentary on Luke* in 1858, on the basis of which he published his translation in 1859, i.e. simultaneously with Migne's reprint of *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*

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[153] See *PL* 48, 1075-76.

[154] Cf. the following remark of E. Venables (referring to the 'lost works' of Theodoret): 'several books *De Theologia et incarnatione*, identified by Garnier with the three dialogues *against the Macedonians*, and *two against the Apollinarists*, erroneously attributed to Athanasius'. The source of these findings is Cave, *Hist. Lit.*, I, 405 ff. See *DCB*, IV, 918-919. It is also interesting to mention that the same conclusion is accepted by Blomfield Jackson in the *Prolegomena* of *NPNF* III published in 1892. Jackson was obviously unacquainted with Ehrhard's work concerning *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*, which appeared four years before his translation of Theodoret (see *NPNF* III, 15).

[155] Cf. e.g. *PG* 75, 1460-1461 with *PG* 84, 65B-68C etc. References to these identical texts published in *PG* once under the name of Cyril and of Theodoret respectively can be found in the *Appendix*.

[156] 'Erst nach Fertigstellung meiner Abhandlung kam mir eine Bemerkung von Payne Smith zu Gesicht, der sich in der Vorrede zu s. englischen Übersetzung des Lukaskommentars Cyrill's (Oxford, 1869 I S. VII) gegen die Echtheit der in Frage stehenden Schrift ausspricht. Er verlegt sie in die Zeit nach der Synode v. Chalcedon, was ich jedoch als unrichtig ansehe.' Ehrhard, 'Die Schrift', 182, note 3. The date of Smith's edition in Ehrhard's quotation is erroneous: the work appeared ten years earlier, in 1859 already: Payne R. Smith, ed., trans., *A Commentary upon the Gospel According to S. Luke by S. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1859).

under Cyril's name. Here is what Smith had written in his introduction to the translation of Cyril's *Commentary on Luke* in January 1859:

> But when Mai would go further, and deny that the Monophysites had any ground for claiming S. Cyril's authority in their favour, his uncritical turn of mind at once betrays him: for he rests chiefly upon the treatise *De incarnatione Domini*, *Nov. Bib. Pat.* II. 32-74, ascribed by him to S. Cyril upon the testimony of a MS. in the Vatican [i.e. Vat. gr. 841]. But independently of other internal evidence that this piece was written subsequently to the council of Chalcedon, it is absolutely impossible that Cyril could ever have adopted the very keystone and centre of Nestorius' teaching, the doctrine I mean of a συνάφεια (pp. 59, 71), a mere juxtaposition, or mechanical conjunction of the two natures in Christ, in opposition to a real union.[157]

The other source mentioned again by Ehrhard is the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, where under the headword *Theodoretus*, E. Venables accedes to Garnier's identification of *De Theologia et incarnatione* with three pseudo-Athanasian dialogues against the Macedonians and two against the Apollinarists. Ehrhard rejects this conclusion.[158] Nevertheless, on page 773 of vol. I of the same *Dictionary*, published already in 1877, under the headword *Cyrillus*, there is a perhaps more useful remark of W. Bright concerning 'a treatise on the Trinity, assigned, but without certainty, to Cyril'.[159] This may refer to the first tract, and designate both works, because the restoration itself was possible based on the internal evidences found almost exclusively in *De incarnatione*. This article, however, does not enter any details or speculations concerning the authorship of the treatise.

Ehrhard's work of restoration and modern scholarship

Since I have already mentioned A. Ehrhard and his work several times already I shall refer very briefly to what has not yet been reviewed. It is important to note that most modern scholars have focused on *De incarnatione*, whilst applying the findings onto *De Trinitate* as a consequence. Ehrhard argued that neither Cyril nor any later author had mentioned a treatise of Cyril with this title. Moreover, it cannot be identified with any other tract by Cyril on the incarnation. The terminology of the work is not Alexandrian. Although the author uses ἕνωσις quite frequently, nonetheless, συνάφεια, ἐνοίκησις, κοινωνία, ἀνάληψις are seldom present. Further, all the favourite Cyrilline formulae are missing. The juxtaposition of θεοτόκος and ἀνθρωποτόκος cannot come from the pen of Cyril.

Ehrhard had also gathered external evidence in support of his ascription to Theodoret, namely Hardouin's publication of Garnier's *Opera Posthuma*, Combefis' *Bibliotheca Concionatoria* (which was unavailable to him, but he knew of it), Gallandi's *Bibliotheca*

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[157] Smith, *A Commentary by S. Cyril*, p. VII.
[158] *DCB* IV, 918-919. Cf. Ehrhard, 'Die Schrift', 652.
[159] *DCB* I, 773. I was unable to clarify this reference any further.

Veterum Patrum, the Syriac Codex add. 14,533 of British Library with Ebedjesu mentioning the treatise under the name of Theodoret and the three fragments of Marius Mercator.[160]

Further, by selecting relevant passages from Theodoret's other works, Ehrhard successfully shows that the sometimes literally identical fragments or longer texts must have been written by the same author. He also argued that Theodoret must have been the author of the *Formula of Reunion*.[161]

Other fragments of the two treatises (mostly the second one) were found – as mentioned earlier – by Ed. Schwartz, J. Lebon, R. Devreesse and M. Richard. These scholars also contributed towards the clarification of chapter numbering and other related issues.[162]

For the sake of saving space I have chosen not to present the modern scholarship related to Theodoret and his two tracts in detail, since some of it will be addressed during the analysis of the works. Nevertheless, for a good overview of what has already been done before I would refer the reader to the excellent article of Marijan Mandac as well as to the comprehensive presentation of Paul Bauchman Clayton. As mentioned earlier, Jean-Noël Guinot has written the newest article on the subject.[163]

The reliability of Migne's text

After having taken into consideration all the available excerpts known to us so far, I can say that the text of the two works as it appears in *PG* 75 is generally reliable in terms of textual accuracy. There are indeed some variants, missing short fragments and clauses, some of which I pointed out in the translation (and occasionally in the analysis also), yet I did not find any plausible evidence of a deliberate text alteration motivated by doctrinal or other concerns. It is nonetheless true that Migne reprints the errors of Mai's edition, and (of course, involuntarily) adds a few more to them. Thus, without denying at all the imperative necessity of producing the first critical edition of these tracts, an edition which I deem to be extremely important, I merely conclude that the text as we have it in Vat. gr. 841 and in *PG* 75 is generally adequate for the theological research of Theodoret's thought preceding the Council of Ephesus. Since I have knowledge of a forthcoming critical edition of these treatises in *Sources Chrétiennes* by no less an authority on Theodoret than Prof. Jean-Noël Guinot, I have decided to base my argument on Migne's text whilst making the necessary observations based on the excerpts presently known to us instead of producing my own critical text of the two tracts. Nevertheless, for the sake of complying with scholarly accuracy, I have listed in the *Appendix* all the so far discovered excerpts of both works under the title *Towards a critical edition of De Trinitate and De incarnatione*.

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[160] Ehrhard, 'Die Schrift', 627.
[161] Ehrhard, 'Die Schrift', 644, note 2.
[162] For a review of these findings see my article 'An unnoticed title in Theodoret'.
[163] Marijan Mandac, 'L' union christologique dans les oeuvres de Théodoret antérieures au Concile d'Éphèse', *ETL*, 47 (1971), 64-96; Clayton, 'Theodoret', pp.61-98; Guinot, 'L'*Expositio* et le traité...'.

Chapter 3: Theodoret's Trinitarian Concept

In this chapter I shall present the structure and related issues concerning both tracts and then proceed to the analysis of *De Trinitate*.

3.1 The structure and purpose of both treatises

'Every writing requires time and tranquillity, together with a mind free of worries.'

As an irony of fate, this first sentence of Theodoret's Προοίμιον, the common introduction of both tracts, was not preserved in Greek. It survived only in Syriac, in Severus of Antioch's *Contra Grammaticum*.[164] Exactly the above requirements were most unlikely to be met throughout the entire career of the Bishop of Cyrus. Once he had left his monastery in Nicerte and was consecrated bishop of Cyrus in 423, such expressions as 'free time' or 'tranquillity' gradually disappeared from his vocabulary.

Despite the unfavourable conditions the oeuvre of Theodoret shows the persistence of a carefully organising intellect put exclusively in the service of the Church, according to the clearest conscience of a theologian. One might even say that the above sentence was in fact the *ars theologica* of the pious Bishop of Cyrus. Since at any time after 428 he could hardly hope for a peaceful period to start producing theological works, Theodoret chose the option to write anyway whilst consciously 'freeing his mind of worries'. The harmony he longed for was hardly to be found in his contemporary environment: he attempted to create it in his writings.

An irenical purpose prevails in both tracts. The atmosphere in which they were written was hostile, and the time for accomplishment short. Yet, neither of the two halves bears any detrimental effect of the Nestorian controversy: Theodoret does not mount any direct attack upon his contemporary theological opponents.

Theodoret's teaching on the Holy Trinity in all its aspects (including the question of *Filioque*) is fully perceptible even on the basis of the relatively short first treatise Περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ζωοποίου Τριάδος (22 cols in *PG*). The structure of this work concerning the θεολογία (as Theodoret qualified the doctrine concerning the being of God) is notably unbalanced. Whilst only one short chapter (Ch. 4) is consecrated to the doctrine on the Father, fourteen chapters (5-18) are reserved for the Son and nine (19-27) for the Spirit. This asymmetric arrangement, however, is not primarily a result of precipitate composition. On the contrary, the structure of *De Trinitate* faithfully reflects the main theological concerns of Theodoret's time, as well as the different emphases laid upon each in the fifth century. During this period, the Eastern Church was primarily concerned with Christology and secondarily with the procession and dominion of the Holy Spirit. There was hardly any major disagreement concerning the Person of the Father. Moreover, the proportions of the *Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum* are the same: the confession about the Son is the longest, whereas the section concerning the Holy Spirit is longer than the one about the Father, but shorter than the portion on the Son.

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[164] Joseph Lebon, ed., trans., *Severi Antiocheni Liber Contra Impium Grammaticum, Orationis Tertiae Pars Prior*, Corpus Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri, Series 4 (Louvain: Marcel Istas, 1929), V, 46. Lebon's Latin translation: 'Omnis scriptio otium requirit et tranquillitatem, mentemque curis liberatam'.

The introductions of the two linked treatises give us further explanation of this disproportionate arrangement. Theodoret had stated at the beginning of both works that his goal was to speak to the pious and not to refute merely the teaching of the heretics. A small difference, however, is notable since the Προοίμιον explains the necessity of producing this treatise with the appearance of heresies:

> Yet, since many were moved by arrogance, craving for hollow fame and being ignorant of themselves, esteemed the conceptions of their own erroneous mind highly above the divinely inspired teaching, left the straight path that leads to the city in the highest and stepped onto death-bringing passages with many splits […] I consider appropriate for those who follow the regal path trodden by the pious, to commiserate with the misguided, uncover the fraud, reveal the [true] piety and direct the adherents, keeping away from the deviations of both sides until they reach the royal city (*PG* 75, 1148AB).

Theodoret perceives his task to be to lead the deceived back onto the straight path of true piety. Therefore, he has to expand those sections of his work where the doctrinal chicane is most likely to occur. This approach, being primarily motivated by pastoral consideration, inevitably brings about a structurally unbalanced treatise.

The reason for writing is no less than the salvation of all people, as we read in the title of Ch. 2 of *De Trinitate*: 'That God highly estimates the salvation of humankind' (col. 1449A). Theodoret sees himself within the line of the apostolic tradition not as much as a doctrinal authority, but rather as a responsible neighbour:

> Hence, we present the teaching of the divine doctrines as a reminder for the well versed, and as instruction for the uninitiated (col. 1149A).

Before proceeding with the proposed presentation of the doctrines, Theodoret brings two other matters to the attention of the reader, namely 'the character of the church doctrine' and 'the mode of its tradition' for the pious. Ch. 2 of *De Trinitate* seems to strengthen the understanding of the whole treatise as being drawn up like a practical instruction for a larger audience:

> The word of the evangelical faith should be proclaimed both simply and didactically, neither in a controversial, nor in an arguing fashion, but rather as befitting the Church of God: tersely, without ostentation; instructively, not in a long-winded manner; lacking finesse, yet abundant in theology. [...] We do not add anything from [our] own reasoning to the universal teaching of the Holiest Spirit, since this is the pattern [ὁ ὅρος] of the divine teaching (col. 1149C).

In Ch. 3 of *De Trinitate* Theodoret mentions his earlier works written against 'heretical blasphemies'. M. Richard drew up a list of Theodoret's pre-Ephesian works, most of which had been composed as apologies against some forms of heresy or paganism.[165] The works Theodoret could already refer to here are the following: *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, *Adversus Iudaeos* (fragments preserved), *Expositio rectae fidei* (attributed to Justin Martyr), *Adversus Arianos et Eunomianos* (lost), *Adversus Macedonianos* or *De*

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[165] M. Richard, 'L'activité littéraire de Théodoret', 103.

Spiritu Sancto (lost), *Contra Marcionitas* (lost). Taking this list into account one can easily give credit to the author when he says,

> In our other writings we had already refuted the heretical blasphemies, taking each of them separately and by stripping off the veil of deceit we revealed the unclothed impiety. This time, however, with God's help we shall expose for those nurtured in faith the God-given doctrine of the Church without overburdening the readers with lengthy speeches or corrupting accuracy with laconic talk. Instead, we have chosen a midway between both extremes, thus to avoid tiring the listeners with extensiveness, but rather [being able] to present in a clear fashion the teaching of the divine science [θεογνωσία] (col. 1149CD).

Thus, as it seems from its first chapters, the treatise in question intends to be and remain a positive instruction for the believers. The polemical character of the writings of the time is almost fully absent and whenever Theodoret replies or rejects a heresy, he refers to those before his time (e.g. Arianism, Apollinarianism or Eunomianism). No direct attack is mounted upon his contemporaries.

3.1.1 Unbalanced chapter division

Theodoret adopts the classical form of a creed in *De Trinitate*, suggesting that the edification of the faithful is lying at the heart of the work. The way he approaches the different theological questions reveals a vigilant shepherd who knows the questions of his flock and is trying to give adequate answers to them. This deep ecclesiastical and pastoral concern governs Theodoret's pen and brings about the structural balance of his work, which is generated by the biblical argumentation adapted by the exegete to the contemporary need of the believers.

Theodoret has to apologise for the length of some passages, which were caused by his community-focused writing style. We find such passages in both tracts:

> Nevertheless, I have stretched out for long the discourse about faith, thus having surpassed the limit of brevity already promised in the introduction. I wanted in fact to show from the evangelic teaching the dignity of the Only-begotten, thus elaborating the message more lengthily than it had been promised, although I tried to be concise in the commentaries. Therefore, whilst directing the pious to the evangelic and prophetic books themselves – since those are full with the theology of the Son – I shall now turn to the next proposed question (col. 1176B).

The above passage is the end of Ch. 18 of *De Trinitate*, following the long and detailed discourse on the second Person of the Trinity. Theodoret knew that the doctrine on the Incarnation needed a firm Trinitarian basis. Therefore, he chose to prepare the ground properly, whilst acknowledging that he had surpassed the boundaries of briefness. The advantage of this technique on one hand was that he could say fully what he wanted to say. On the other hand, he could explain to his eventual critics the reason why he had

adopted this method: 'to show from the evangelic teaching the dignity of the Only-begotten'.

A brief statement closes the excursus on the equality of worship due to the Father and the Son: 'It is time, however, to turn to the explanation of the Master's words' (col. 1169A). A kind of apologetic précis similar to the one in Ch. 18 is at the end of Ch. 27 of *De Trinitate* (col. 1188B).

We find a few similar passages in the second treatise also. Their function is either to mark the end of an 'excursus' on a particular aspect of the incarnation, or to conclude a longer refutation of an old heresy (see col. 1433B, 1445C, 1460B, 1473C).

Based on the above one could raise the question whether these passages inserted visibly at some key points of Theodoret's argumentation in both halves of the treatise may fulfil some other function than merely marking the end or beginning of an exposé. In our opinion, this question might be answered to some extent once the addressees of the two treatises have been identified.

3.1.2 The addressees of *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*

The declared and carefully pursued intention of Theodoret in both treatises is to present a teaching to the faithful. The way he addresses the readers (τοῖς τροφίμοις τῆς πίστεως – col. 1149D; ἐν εὐσεβῶν συλλόγῳ – col. 1420B) presupposes the existence of a community whose actual questions and dilemmas are in the forefront of the discussion. Each of the three major parts of the first treatise as well as its conclusion starts with the 'we believe' formula. One might observe the multiple use of the first and second person plural often combined with the rhetorical tone of many passages.[166] To these we might add the entirely community-focused character of the two closing chapters of *De incarnatione* as well as the invitingly poetic resonance of some passages, like Ch. 23 *On the ineffable birth of the Virgin*. In essence, both treatises could be read aloud in front of a community as a series of catechising sermons for the instruction of the believers.

I do not intend, of course, to determine that the two treatises were in fact a compilation of a series of sermons or that they were intended merely for community catechisation purposes. Theodoret uses such persuasive pastoral rhetoric in his other writings also (e.g. in his *Epistle* 151 to the Eastern monks, written before Ephesus). What I suggest is that Theodoret had undoubtedly used his ecclesiastical experience to put together a practical instruction for the larger community of the Church that he had been serving. This might lead to a possible conclusion that the primary addressees of these two treatises were the Christian communities in the diocese of Cyrus and around Antioch, as well as in the capital. Theodoret's *Letter to the people of Constantinople* (*SC* 429, 130-51) in which he recommends this double treatise to the addressees has notable similarities with *De incarnatione*, as Guinot observed.[167]

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[166] See e.g. cols. 1152A, 1156A, 1156B, 1160B, 1165D, 1169B, 1176D, 1456D etc.
[167] Guinot, 'L'*Expositio* et le traité…', 67-68.

Thus, probably the main reason why Theodoret could recommend his treatise unequivocally to the people of Constantinople was that this work in fact had been intended for such an audience.[168]

3.2 The teaching about God the Father

Being original is not Theodoret's primary intention. He works within a Trinitarian tradition and is aware of the boundaries set by earlier teachers. On one hand, he accepts some of these limits, e.g. the eastern position concerning the *Filioque*. On the other hand, he tries to develop the terminology of earlier fathers, whenever he considers it appropriate based on his exegesis of a relevant biblical passage.[169]

As we have already observed, the passage (Ch. 4) concerning the doctrine on the Father is conspicuously short. All that Theodoret intended to say was the following:

> We, the suitors, worshippers as well as high-voiced and high-minded heralds of the Trinity, believe in one God [and] Father unbegun and unbegotten [ἄναρχον καὶ ἀγέννητον], [who is an] eternally existent Father, [who] did not become [Father] herein after. For there was not when He was not [a Father], but He had been Father from the very beginning [οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ ἄνωθεν ἦν Πατήρ]. Neither had He been a Son first, and then [became] a Father, according to the corporeal sequence, but since ever He is – yet He is eternally – Father He both is and is called [ἀφ᾽ οὗπερ ἔστιν ἀεὶ δὲ ἔστι, Πατὴρ καὶ ἔστι καὶ καλεῖται] (col. 1152A).

The first thing we observe is a firm confession that the worshippers of the Trinity believe in *one* God [εἰς ἕνα θεόν]. This basic principle of Theodoret's Trinitarian concept is to be found in an epigrammatic sentence in Ch. 7 of his *Expositio*: Μονὰς γὰρ καὶ ἐν Τριάδι νοεῖται, καὶ Τριὰς ἐν μονάδι γνωρίζεται (*PG* 6, 1220C). Bergjan considered the issue to be 'das Grundproblem' for Theodoret's teaching on the Trinity.[170] She has also shown that Theodoret's main sources for the elaboration of his Trinitarian doctrine were the Cappadocians. According to Bergjan, the Bishop of Cyrus was familiar with the following works (or with parts of them):

- Basil of Caesarea: *In Psalmum* 59,4; *De Spiritu Sancto*, *De gratiarum actione homilia* 5, *Contra Eunomium* I-II;
- Gregory Nazianzen: *Ep.* 101 *ad Cledonium*, *Or.* 40 *in sanctum baptisma*, *Or.* 30 *de Filio*, *Ep.* 202 *ad Nectarium*, *Or.* 45 *in sanctum pascha*;

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[168] Cf. Guinot, 'L'*Expositio* et le traité…', 72-73.

[169] See also the important study of M. O. Boulnois, *Le paradoxe trinitaire chez Cyrille d'Alexandrie. Herméneutique, analyses philosophiques et argumentation théologique*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, 143 (Paris: 1994)

[170] Silke-Petra Bergjan, *Theodoret von Cyrus und der Neunizänismus, Aspekte der altkirchlichen Trinitätslehre*, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 113-14.

- Gregory of Nyssa: *De deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti*, *De vita Moysis*, *Contra Eunomium* II, *De beatitud.*, *Or. catech. magna*.[171]

The oneness of God's being is well established within the works of these theologians, and Theodoret accepted many of their statements. E.g., concerning the Trinity Gregory Nazianzen spoke of μία φύσις, τρεῖς ἰδιότητες. He also asserted that all the three divine Persons retain their specific attributes, i.e. τὸ ἀγέννητον, τὸ γεννητόν, τὸ προϊόν.[172] This framework – including the Cappadocians' definition of ὑπόστασις in Trinitarian usage – largely influenced Theodoret's understanding.

3.2.1 The Father's specific title in relation to the Son and to the Spirit

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεὸν Πατέρα ἄναρχον καὶ ἀγέννητον – says Theodoret. The last two expressions bear an important significance for his perception of God's being. God the Father is without beginning, unbegotten and unborn. In the later passages concerning the Son and the Holy Spirit the epithet ἄναρχος will be applied to the other two divine ὑποστάσεις also, thus to the entire οὐσία and φύσις of God. In the last chapter of *De Trinitate* Theodoret will assert that the φύσις of the Trinity is αὐτοζωής, i.e. self-existent.

The Trinity being eternal without inception is fully exposed in the relevant places: Theodoret spends a considerable time in emphasising the equality and co-eternity of the three Persons (see e.g. the titles of Ch. 6, 20 and 27). However, the term ἀγέννητος in the above sentence will remain the Father's exclusive title, thus qualifying the first Person of the uni-essential Trinity. On one hand, it shows that the Father does not owe His existence to anything or anybody, thus reinforcing His being ἄναρχος. On the other hand, it qualifies the Father's position in relationship to the Son and the Holy Spirit. This concurs with Gregory Nazianzen's classification.

Theodoret is meticulous in finding and choosing specific appellations, in pointing out the particular attributes of the Person he is speaking about. These titles are neither chosen nor applied distinctly, i.e. in an isolated fashion. The Bishop of Cyrus sees the Persons of the Trinity in their relationship with each other, and interprets their names and titles accordingly. Thus, the Father is Father in relation to His Son, and the Son is Son in relation to His Father etc. Yet, the Son is Creator also in His relation to humankind because of the commonness of His οὐσία with the Father and with the Holy Spirit.

It is probably useful to take a closer look at the expression ἀγέννητος and its doctrinal implications. The term primarily means 'unbegotten' and 'unborn'. If we compare this with its paronym – ἀγένητος – we find that they are quite close not only in spelling but in meaning also. Nevertheless, that little difference became crucial in the Early Church, since the first one was rooted in the verb γεννάω, whereas the second one derived from γίγνομαι. As opposed to the first expression, ἀγένητος means 'lacking inception'. If it were still acceptable in this negative form as referring to the Father, its affirmative version, γενητός (= come-into-being) could not serve as synonym for γεννητός

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[171] Bergjan, *Theodoret von Cyrus und der Neunizänismus*, 149.
[172] Gregory Nazianzen, *Or.* 26,19 in *SC* 284, 270.

(= begotten, born) when applied to the Son, since γενητός could imply a coming into existence either by creation or begetting.

These two terms caused a lot of trouble for the early orthodox theologians, especially when – being challenged by Arius – they had to establish the eternal *begetting* of the Son as opposed to the *creation* of the world and humankind. Thus, starting from the appearance of Arianism, these two verbs and their derivations were not interchangeable. Origen's Περὶ ἀρχῶν is a further proof that the above distinction was a result of a later theological evolution. In the chapter entitled *De Christo* of Περὶ ἀρχῶν Origen does not yet find any difficulty in identifying the *begotten* Son of God with the *created* Wisdom mentioned in the Proverbs:

> First, we have to know that the nature of the deity within Christ in respect of His being the Only-begotten Son of God is one thing, and that human nature which He assumed in these last times for the purposes of the dispensation is another. Therefore we have first to ascertain *what* [Lat. *quid*] the Only-begotten Son of God is, *who* [Lat. *qui*] is called by many different names, according to the circumstances and views [of individuals]. For He is titled Wisdom, as Solomon also said in the person of Wisdom [Lat. sicut et Salomon dixit ex *persona sapientiae*]: 'The Lord *created* [Lat. *creavit*] me the beginning of His ways, and among His works, before He made any other thing; He *founded* [Lat. *fundavit*] me before the ages. In the beginning, before He made the earth, before He brought forth the fountains of waters, before the mountains were made strong, before all the hills, He *begot me* [Lat. *generat/genuit me*]' (Proverbs 8:22-25). He is also named Firstborn [Lat. primogenitus], as the apostle had said, 'who is the Firstborn of all creatures' (Colossians 1:15). The Firstborn, however, is not by nature a different person from the Wisdom, but one and the same [Lat. *unus atque idem*]. Finally, the Apostle Paul says that 'Christ [is] the power of God and the wisdom of God' (1 Corinthians 1:24) – *SC* 252, pp.110-112; cf. *PG* 11, 130AB.

Origen repeatedly uses the verbs 'create', 'generate' or 'beget' interchangeably without explanation, as one can observe it in the third paragraph of the same chapter:

> Now, in the same way in which we have understood that Wisdom was the beginning of the ways of God, and is said to be *created* [Lat. *creata esse*], forming beforehand and containing within herself the species and beginnings of all creatures, must we understand her to be the Word of God. [...] Let him, then, who assigns *a beginning* [*initium*] to the Word or Wisdom of God, take care that he be not guilty of impiety against the *unbegotten* [*ingenitum*] Father Himself, seeing he denies that He had always been a Father, and had *begotten* [*genuisse*] the Word, and had possessed wisdom in all preceding periods (*SC* 252, 114-116).

This puzzling formulation of Origen is actually criticised by Jerome in his *Epistola* 124, 2 *ad Avitum* in the following manner: 'Et statim in primo volumine: Christum Filium Dei non natum esse sed factum' (*PL* 22, 1060A). According to the same letter of Jerome,

Origen repeated the assertion concerning the Holy Spirit also, thus creating a Trinitarian subordination. As Jerome says,

> Tertium dignitate et honore post Patrem et Filium adserit Spiritum Sanctum. De quo cum ignorare se dicat utrum factus sit an infectus, in posterioribus quid de eo sentiret expressit, nihil absque solo Deo Patre infectum esse confirmans (*PL* 22, 1060D-1061A).

Rufinus translated the text of *De principiis* I, 2, 6 (*SC* 252, 122) with 'nihil ingenitum, id est innatum', whereas Jerome interpreted it as 'infectum'. According to Crouzel and Simonetti this is due to the fact that Origen did not distinguish between the terms γενητός and γεννητός, neither between ἀγένητος and ἀγέννητος. Jerome, however, being aware of the Arian challenge of his own time, anachronistically interpreted Origen's terminology as being heretical.[173] A similar criticism of such practice can be found in Cap. 8 of the *Formula of the third Antiochene Synod* of 345, entitled ἔκθεσις μακρόστιχος, as well as in the *Anathema* 10 *of the Synod of Ancyra* held in 358.[174]

Theodoret, however, is well aware of this terminological development and does not use the above terms interchangeably. Moreover, one of the pillars of his Trinitarian thought is the crucial difference between God as Creator and the whole world as His creation. This fundamental character of God's uncreated οὐσία is stressed as being entirely valid for all the three ὑποστάσεις of the Trinity. As one would expect, in subsequent passages, Theodoret comes to assert the particular designations for both the Son and the Spirit. Faithful to his Neo-Nicene and Cappadocian heritage, Theodoret qualifies the Son as γεννηθείς (*De Trinitate* 5 – col. 1152B) and the Holy Spirit as προελθόν, οὐ γεννηθέν (*De Trinitate* 19 – col. 1176C).

3.2.2 Other attributes of the Father

Turning back to the teaching on the Father, we learn in continuation that He is an eternal Father [ἀεὶ ὤν], who did not later acquire this status. This is important in order to uphold the doctrine of God's unchanging eternal nature and thus to avoid any kind of alteration [τροπή] of the Godhead during the Incarnation. In this Theodoret might have been influenced by Theodore, who also defended God's eternal being and fatherhood in his confession:

> Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεόν, Πατέρα ἀΐδιον, οὔθ᾽ ὕστερον ἀρξάμενον τοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἄνωθεν ὄντα ἀΐδιον θεόν, οὔτε μὴν ὕστερον γεγονότα Πατέρα, ἐπειδήπερ ἀεὶ θεός τε ἦν καὶ Πατήρ (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 302).

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[173] 'Il ne s'agit pas d'une citation, mais d'un résumé de la pensée d'Origène, telle que Jérôme l'a comprise, dans une énumération de propositions condamnables […] Origène avait certainement écrit γενητός et ἀγένητος, non distingués par lui de γεννητός et ἀγέννητος. La distinction ayant été faite pour répondre aux ariens, Jérôme a traduit ces termes conformément à l'usage de son temps et leur a donné une signification hérétique: l'interprétation de Rufin est la seule conforme à la pensée d'Origène, telle qu'elle se manifeste dans l'ensemble de son oeuvre.' Origène, *Traité des principes* II, ed. by Henri Crouzel and Manlio Simonetti, *SC* 253 (Paris: Cerf, 1978), 14.

[174] See G. Ludwig Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche*, 3rd edn (Breslau: E. Morgenstern, 1897), 194-95 and 203.

'There was not, when He was not […] a Father' = οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν […] Πατήρ. This argument is repeated and enhanced in the passage on the Son, especially in Theodoret's explanation concerning the contrast between the verbs ἦν and ἐγένετο (see Ch. 6 and 7 of *De Trinitate*). The basic idea is not his, since it can be found at other fathers also, being included among the anathemas following the *Nicene Creed*.[175] Theodoret adapts here an early anti-Arian rationale, which by his time became part of the doctrinal tradition. Nevertheless, the *Nicene Creed* – together with other famous ancient creeds – applies the above definition to the Son and to the Spirit, but not to the Father.

It is important to note that Theodoret's 'there was not when He was not' applied to the Father refers implicitly to the Son, since the complete sentence says, as we have quoted, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν […] Πατήρ. Thus, Theodoret speaks not simply of the eternity of God Himself, but rather asserts that His *fatherhood* is eternal. This affirmation in fact serves for safeguarding the co-eternity and co-equality of the Son with His Father, thus refusing any subordinationism.

The by then traditional formula 'there was not when He was not' as applied to the Son and to the Spirit was present in other ancient symbols and creeds. Theodoret here simply gave it an interesting nuance, which helped the subsequent explanation of the Son's eternal begetting. Among the other sources we can mention the longer form of the *Palestinian Symbol* according to Epiphanius (ca 374), which interprets the statement οὐκ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν as referring to the Son and the Spirit, but not to the fatherhood of the Father.[176]

The *Palestinian Symbol* – together with the anathema following the *Nicene Creed* of 325 – on one hand seems to imply an equality between the terms ὑπόστασις and οὐσία. On the other hand, it rejects any idea that change or mutability could be attributed to the Son or to the Spirit. The *Nicaenum* refuses the term κτιστός as well, although the expression might be a subsequent addition of Athanasius.[177] The latter aspect of the Nicene and Palestinian symbols will become a stronghold for Theodoret in his defence of the Son's eternal immutability, whereas in the question of ὑπόστασις and οὐσία he will follow the Cappadocians and their distinctions, thus developing further the common Nicene heritage.[178]

The longer baptismal creed of the Armenian Church is similar to the Palestinian and the *Nicene Creed* in the sense that it also applies 'there was not when He was not' to the Son and to the Spirit, but not to the Father or to His fatherhood. It differs, however, from the other two in the sense that it does not contain ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως, only ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας, which might be an indication of a Neo-Nicene influence (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 153).

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[175] Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας· ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν [...] τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. See Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 161.

[176] Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 137. See also the confession of faith of the community in Ancyra from 372 in Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 264.

[177] M. F. Wiles, 'A Textual Variant in the Creed of the Council of Nicaea', *SP*, 26 (1993), 428-33.

[178] For a detailed analysis of Theodoret's following and developing of the Cappadocians' Trinitarian doctrine including their distinction of terms see Bergjan, *Theodoret von Cyrus und der Neunizänismus*, 105-71.

There is one ancient creed, however, drawn up in Syria in the middle of the third century, which might imply the acceptance of οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν as referring to God the Father. God is regarded here as being the Father of the believers:

> Ἡμεῖς τέκνα θεοῦ καὶ υἱοὶ εἰρήνης ὄντες [...] ἕνα μόνον θεὸν καταγγέλλομεν, [...] ἀΐδιον καὶ ἄναρχον καὶ φῶς οἰκοῦντα ἀπρόσιτον, οὐ δεύτερον ὄντα καὶ τρίτον ἢ πολλοστόν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀϊδίως (Hahn, *Bibliothek,* 13-14).

A crucial aspect of Theodoret's Trinitarian thinking is the basic difference between God's being and the being of all His creatures. These two οὐσίαι can by no means be mingled or confused, since God's οὐσία is eternal, whereas the οὐσία of the creatures is ephemeral. The traditional sentence οὐκ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν endorsed here by Theodoret referring to the fatherhood of the Father throws light upon the author's fundamental concept of time and age also, according to which the very being of God is undoubtedly above time, since He is in fact the Creator of time.

Our author is also careful with the application of human analogies to God's being, trying to avoid any overstatement in this direction. God is truly Father, but His divine fatherhood is more than the human and thus cannot be fully described by the latter. As Theodoret writes, the Father 'had been Father from the very beginning', moreover,

> Neither had He been a Son first, and then [became] a Father, according to the corporeal sequence, but since ever He is – yet He is eternally – Father He both is and is called (col. 1152A).

The above sentence seems to be more than just a logical result or conclusion of the previous statements. The affirmation 'neither had He been a Son first, and then [became] a Father according to the corporeal sequence' is missing from the earlier tradition and seems to be entirely distinctive to Theodoret. It is perhaps an answer to the closing part of the first confession of Arius sent to Alexander around 320. Here Arius criticises those who interpret the expressions 'of God's womb', 'of God', 'of Him' etc. referring to the Son as proof of His coessentiality with the Father. According to Arius, this practice infers an assemblage and change within the bodiless God, who thus is said to have followed a corporeal sequence. He writes,

> Εἰ δὲ τό· ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τό· ἐκ γαστρός, καὶ τό· ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἥκω, ὡς μέρος αὐτοῦ ὁμοουσίου καὶ ὡς προβολὴ ὑπό τινων νοεῖται, σύνθετος ἔσται ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ διαιρετὸς καὶ τρεπτὸς καὶ σῶμα κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ὅσον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀκόλουθα σώματι πάσχων ὁ ἀσώματος θεός.[179]

Theodoret finds an effective way to resist such an interpretation. For him the Son is truly of God the Father, being ὁμοούσιος with and begotten by Him. Yet, the Father is neither σύνθετος nor διαίρετος nor τρεπτός and is not subject to any bodily sequence despite of the fact that He had begotten the Son, because His fatherhood is utterly different from

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[179] *CPG* 2026; Hans-Georg Opitz, ed., *Athanasius Werke*, 3 vols (Berlin-Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1934), III, 13 (*Urkunde* 6). Cf. Hahn, *Bibliothek,* 256.

the human fatherhood. Theodoret will expose this matter more clearly in Ch. 9 of *De Trinitate*, where he introduces the notion of the Son's impassible begetting. In his response to Arianism he upholds both the Nicene ὁμοούσιος and the immutability of the Father's being, although for Arius the latter attribute seemed to contradict inevitably the begetting of a Son of the same essence.

Thus, with the sentence 'neither had He been a Son first, and then [became] a Father according to the corporeal sequence' Theodoret on one hand successfully resists Arianism. On the other hand, he also appears to guard against univocal analogy of human fatherhood: a man is always first someone else's son before later becoming a father. God in his divine οὐσία or φύσις is not subject to τῶν σωμάτων ἀκολουθία, since He Himself is ἀσώματος.[180] This is what Arius claimed also, but without distinguishing adequately between divine and human fatherhood. Theodoret suggests here that all the human analogies applied to God's fatherhood or to any other aspect of His divine existence are limited and cannot describe fully His divine οὐσία. This is exposed clearly in Ch. 15, where the author argues that the Son can represent the Father in Himself only if both of them are of the same (divine) essence:

> Behold, how the coessentiality [τὸ ὁμοούσιον] [of the Father and Son] is manifested! For He says: 'If you had known me, you would have known my Father also.' But one thing of a different essence is not recognised through another with yet a further different essence. Things of a different or strange nature do not reveal each other. Nevertheless, those sharing the same nature can be recognised through each other. The nature [φύσις] of the whole humankind becomes visible through one human being, and the whole genus [τὸ γένος] of sheep through a single sheep respectively. But [one] cannot [perceive] the lions through the sheep, neither the sheep through the lions, nor the angels through human beings, nor human beings through angels; for each creature is expressive of his/her own nature (col. 1169BC).

In the above context, the statement concerning God's eternal fatherhood means that God cannot be perceived through human examples, thus by human analogies. Here lies in fact one of Theodoret's strong arguments concerning the immutability and eternity of God in opposition to the changing nature of the creation, which is subject to time. This seems to be what Arius defended also, but he failed to realise that God did not change by becoming a Father, since His fatherhood – as opposed to the human – is not a result of any evolution. Therefore the τῶν σωμάτων ἀκολουθία cannot serve as a model to describe God's eternal begetting.

'But since ever He is – yet He is eternally – Father He both is and is called' – we read the closure of Ch. 4. The text itself makes clear that concerning the eternal being of God the Father – including His fatherhood – one cannot speak about any 'since', because that would already imply an inception, the very thought Theodoret is vehemently arguing against. In the subsequent chapter we shall find ἀφ᾽ οὗ in the sense of 'since' where it refers to the coeternity of Father and Son. Theodoret tries to avoid any kind of

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[180] The term ἀσώματος is applied to the whole φύσις of the Triad in Ch. 28 (col. 1188C).

subordination of the Son to the Father, emphasising that the eternal coexistence makes them equal in all respects.

In the sentence Πατὴρ καὶ ἔστι καὶ καλεῖται Theodoret almost seems to equate the verb 'is' with 'is called', just as if he were suggesting that the name 'Father' is proper and applicable to God unequivocally from the very beginning. The concept of naming, addressing, labelling or calling bears an enormous significance for our author throughout both tracts. The name identifies the person, and whenever Theodoret applies a name to God as Father, Son and Spirit, this act of naming is a confession. It is the full recognition of the name as being entirely – and in general: ontologically – proper to its bearer. The above sentence seeks to emphasise that the first Person of the Holy Trinity is indeed Father eternally and is called rightly so.[181]

Compared to the *Nicene Creed*, two important issues are missing from the above confession about the Father: His appellation of παντοκράτωρ as well as His title of Ποιήτης πάντων. The first expression is absent from both treatises, but God's sovereign power is accentuated throughout the reasoning. Further, this dominion is extended to the Son and to the Spirit also. The entire text of *De Trinitate* seems to suggest that the supreme power is proper to God's οὐσία or φύσις, thus to all three ὑποστάσεις of the Trinity and not to the Father alone. As we read in Ch. 12:

> Therefore, those whose knowledge [γνῶσις] is equal, have equal power [δύναμις] also. And those who have equal power obviously have one essence [οὐσία] as well. […] With the statement 'I and the Father' He indicated the number of personal entities [τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὑποστάσεων], and with the addition '[we] are one' He evinced the invariability of the [same] power. Therefore those who have equal knowledge, power and will [βούλησις], obviously have one nature [φύσις] also (col. 1164B-1165A).[182]

The second point, however, (i.e. the lack of the term Ποιήτης πάντων) is more interesting, since it can hardly be claimed that Theodoret simply had forgotten to mention God the Father as being the Creator of all. The omission of this Nicene title here in the passage concerning the Father is probably intentional. It leaves the field clear for a later demonstration of the author's conviction that the Word of God, i.e. the Son is Creator also according to the prologue of John's gospel. This point will later serve as a proof for showing the Word's coeternity and equality with the Father, as well as for His timelessness. The same is valid for the Spirit also.

We should also note that in the following passages consecrated to the Son and to the Holy Spirit Theodoret makes several further references to the Father, thus augmenting the teaching on His ὑπόστασις. The additional attributes of the Father being presented in relationship with the other two ὑποστάσεις show that Theodoret's Trinitarian teaching follows a truly dynamic pattern.

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[181] For a more detailed discussion see *The ontological importance of 'naming'* in Ch. 4 of this work.

[182] Concerning the Son's and the Spirit's equality with the Father regarding power and supreme dominion over all see e.g. chapters 12, 13, 18 and 21 of *De Trinitate*.

3.2.3 Conclusion

Based on the text of Ch. 4 as well as on its omissions we can conclude that Theodoret sees the teaching on the first ὑπόστασις of the Trinity as being deeply rooted in God's eternal fatherhood. Despite the fact that the Son is not mentioned in the paragraph, its structure and the emphasis upon οὐκ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν Πατήρ implies the begetting of the Son, preparing the ground for a subsequent demonstration of His co-eternity (and thus, co-equality) with the Father.

The eternal unbegun being of God is considered different from everyone else to the extent that human analogies applied to His fatherhood are regarded as defective. God in His begetting does not follow bodily (i.e. human) patterns, and His fatherhood cannot be described by an analogy of the σώματα. Although God the Father is Father indeed, yet not in the manner of human fathers, since His begetting is free from any change, because it did not happen in time. Therefore the most important attributes of God's οὐσία are eternity, timelessness (resulting in immutability), as well as lacking inception or creation. The first ὑπόστασις of the Trinity – as opposed to the other two – is unbegotten, and His condition of being Father did and does not suffer any change throughout His existence.

3.3 The teaching about God the Son

> We believe in one Son, [who is] co-eternal with His Begetter [συναΐδιον τῷ γεννήσαντι], whose existence had no beginning, but [He] is eternally; moreover, He is [eternal] together with the Father. Thus, since ever the Father exists – yet He is eternally Father – [so also] the Son from Him. Therefore, they exist inseparably [ἀχωρίστως] from each other according to their names as well as to their realities. For if the Son is not eternal, but there was when He was not, then neither the Father can be eternal [εἰ οὐκ ἀεὶ δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς, ἀλλ᾽ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, οὐδὲ ἀεὶ ὁ Πατήρ], because He bears the name [Father] only since He [the Father] has begotten. But if God the Father is eternal (since it would be a blasphemy indeed to subordinate to time the Existent One [who Himself is] the Creator of time, and according to the time intervals to pronounce [as] second [δευτέραν] the begetting which is timeless and beyond time, then the Son is eternal also, since He was born ineffably of the Father, being eternal together with the Father, and perceived [γνωριζόμενος] together with Him (Ch. 5 – col. 1152AB).

The Son's being συναΐδιος τῷ γεννήσαντι is indispensable for His equality in all respects with His Father. The repeated assertion of the argument ἀφ᾽ οὗ γὰρ Πατήρ, ἀεὶ δὲ Πατήρ in the section concerning the teaching on the Son shows that the aim of the previous chapter included laying basis of the Son's eternal begetting.

We also encounter the term 'inseparable' [ἀχωρίστως], which twenty years later became one of the four crucial expressions defining the two natures within Christ in the *Chalcedonense*. Here it refers to the relationship between Father and Son, who are inseparable from each other, as Theodoret says, concerning both their names [ὀνόματα] and their realities [πράγματα]. The concept of *naming* plays an important role here. The

Son being inseparable from the Father according to τὰ ὀνόματα means that their names are proper to their being. Thus, the Father is Father because He had begotten the Son, and the Son is Son because He is born of the Father. Theodoret sees the ὑποστάσεις of the Trinity in their ontological as well as dynamic relationship with each other and interprets their names consequently.

The traditional 'there was not when He was not' is applied to the Son also, but again in the sense to reinforce the eternal Father-Son relationship of the first two ὑποστάσεις. Interestingly, the Son's eternity determines the timelessness of the Father, since, as Theodoret puts it, εἰ οὐκ ἀεὶ δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς, ἀλλ᾽ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, οὐδὲ ἀεὶ ὁ Πατήρ· ἀφ᾽ οὗ γὰρ ἐγέννησε, τοῦτο ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα.

The rest of the above text of Ch. 5 speaks briefly about the relationship between God and time, between Creator and creature, as well as about the timeless begetting of the Son. One might say that the entire Ch. 5 gives a basic outline of the following exposé on the Son. Each remark or title will be given careful attention in the subsequent chapters in order to furnish a proper Trinitarian foundation for Christology. In analysing Theodoret's teaching on the Son we shall adopt the following method: taking one by one the issues raised within the comprehensive presentation above, we shall refer to the relevant chapter(s) where these are more fully exposed.

3.3.1 The Son's titles and attributes

Coeternity with the Father

In Chapters 6 and 7 Theodoret brings forward a biblical argument from both the Old and New Testaments to prove the Son's coeternity with the Father. These two chapters represent his exegetical answer to the Arian challenge.

> In the beginning – says [the Scripture] – was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. This was in the beginning with God.' Thus, Who existed in the beginning [already], when was He not? For [John] does not say, that He *came into existence* [ἐγένετο] in the beginning, but that He *was* [ἦν] (col. 1152C).

The above quotation comprises Theodoret's crucial argument concerning the difference between ἦν and ἐγένετο. His answer to the Arian 'there was when the Word was not' is legitimate both biblically as well as linguistically: the Gospel of John does not say that the Word 'became' in the beginning, but rather that He 'was', that He had already existed. The 'becoming' of the Word, as Theodoret later will come to assert, is the act of the Incarnation and not His coming into existence.

In fact there is a certain problem with the attribution of the words ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν to Arius himself, since he also accepted the timeless [ἀχρόνως] begetting of the Son. Nevertheless, the first formula of his confession clearly implies the denial of the Son's coeternity with the Father, whom Arius regards as being the solely unbegun [ἄναρχος μονώτατος]. He also admits, that the Son was not before His begetting [οὐκ ἦν πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι], and the text infers that the Father pre-existed the begetting of His Son.

Theodoret's repeated argument concerning God's eternal fatherhood is understandable if one considers the following words of Arius:

> ὁ μὲν θεὸς αἴτιος τῶν πάντων τυγχάνων ἐστὶν ἄναρχος μονώτατος, ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς ἀχρόνως γεννηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων κτισθεὶς καὶ θεμελιωθεὶς οὐκ ἦν πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἀχρόνως πρὸ πάντων γεννηθείς, μόνος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑπέστη. Οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν ἀΐδιος ἢ συναΐδιος ἢ συναγένητος τῷ Πατρί […] ὡς μονὰς καὶ ἀρχὴ πάντων οὕτως ὁ θεὸς πρὸ πάντων ἐστί. Διὸ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐστιν […] ἀρχὴ αὐτοῦ [i.e. Υἱοῦ] ἐστιν ὁ θεός. Ἄρχει γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὡς θεὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὤν. (Opitz, *Urkunde* 6, 13).[183]

These are the very thoughts Theodoret is arguing against. The Son for him is ἄναρχος as the Father and not κτισθείς, He is συναΐδιος and συναγένητος with the Father, who is not before or above Him and does not pre-exist Him in any sense.

As already observed, in the very basic concept of the Bishop of Cyrus God in His divinity is utterly different from anybody and anything else, since His being is uncreated. Moreover, He is the Creator of all. Theodoret asserts that time itself is a creature, and thus the eternal Creator of all cannot be subject to time. A direct answer to the above statement of Arius is to be found in Ch. 6 as follows:

> If the Son had not always been together [συνῆν] with God the Father, but rather came later into existence, then it is necessary to place a certain time or epoch between the Father and the Son (col. 1152C).

Arius of course would have denied this, saying that he accepted the Son's timeless begetting. Nevertheless, Theodoret is right in deducting that if the Father is regarded πρὸ αὐτοῦ [i.e. Υἱοῦ] ὤν, then a time span interposed between the Father and the Son – despite all the objections of Arius – is inevitable. He therefore continues:

> This being granted though, it follows that the creation [i.e. time] preceded the Creator [i.e. the Son]. Since 'all things were made by the Son; and without Him not *one* thing was made' – says the evangelist. Yet, *one of all* [that was created] is the age or time [itself]! The blessed Paul speaks thus: 'in these last days He has spoken to us by [His] Son, whom He had appointed heir of all things, by whom also He created the ages.' Yet, if the ages [οἱ αἰῶνες] were the creation of the Son, they cannot precede their Creator (col. 1152CD).

The quotation from John 1:3 is connected with the next sentence by the expression ἕν (=one). Theodoret argues that according to John 'nothing was made' [ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν] without the Word (i.e. the Son), yet time itself is *one* element of the whole creation [ἓν δὲ τῶν πάντων]. At this point, we can reflect upon the reason why he had omitted the

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[183] In his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia (*CPG* 2025) Arius stresses the origin of the Son before times and ages: θελήματι καὶ βουλῇ ὑφέστη πρὸ χρόνων καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων. Nevertheless, the Son's *hypostasis* 'subsisted' by the Father's *will* and not by His *begetting*, which necessarily makes the *hypostasis* of the Son inferior to the *hypostasis* of the Father. The next sentence leaves no doubt as to how this subordination is to be taken: καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῇ ἤτοι κτισθῇ ἤτοι ὁρισθῇ ἢ θεμελιωθῇ, οὐκ ἦν. Opitz, *Urkunde* 1, 3. Even if there is no 'time' or 'age' yet, there is still a 'before' in the Son's coming to existence.

title Ποιήτης πάντων from the passage on the Father. Thus – with the help of Hebrews 1:1-2 – he could emphasise even more clearly that the Son, the Word of God is Creator indeed, therefore the author of time also:

> However, since the ages did not [yet] exist, it is clear that time [ὁ χρόνος] – which is made up and measured by days and nights – [did not exist] either. Hence, the day and night are generated by the rising and setting of light, and the light was made after the heaven, the earth and the air. Yet, the God-Word had created all these and those within them by [His] word [ἐδημιούργησε λόγῳ], according to the good will [εὐδοκία] of the Father (col. 1152D).

Theodoret's thoughtfully pursued argument is that nothing – not even time – should be interposed between the Father and the Son without the fateful result of ranking the Word together with the creatures. Arius did not find any difficulty in doing this, since he could accept the notions of timeless begetting as well as the creation of the Son before the ages as being in some sense equivalent. By saying that the Son is κτίσμα τοῦ θεοῦ τέλειον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὡς ἓν τῶν κτισμάτων· γέννημα, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὡς ἓν τῶν γεγεννημένων [or γεννημάτων], Arius admitted that the Son might be regarded a creature, even if a perfect one.[184] The Bishop of Cyrus cannot accept this, since for him the very starting point in understanding the Trinity is the commonly eternal οὐσία of all the three Persons:

> Thus, among the times and the ages together with all the other things created by the Word, there is not one [creature] between [μεταξύ] the Father and the Son, but God the Father is verily eternal, and the Son is co-eternal with the Father. That is why the Evangelist exclaims, 'In the beginning was the Word.' (col. 1153A)

As shown by Luise Abramowski, this idea is already present in Basil of Caesarea's *De Spiritu Sancto*, X, 24. As the German scholar formulates, whilst quoting Basil,

> Was die Zeit betrifft, ist niemand so unverständig, dem Schöpfer der Äonen einen Zweiten Platz zuzuweisen, οὐδενὸς διαστήματος μεσιτεύοντος τῇ φυσικῇ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Υἱοῦ συναφείᾳ (*SC* 172, p. 332f).[185]

I shall return to the issue of συνάφεια used in the sense of ἀσύγχυτος ἕνωσις both in a Trinitarian and in a Christological sense at the end of this chapter as well as in the next one. At this point, however, concerning the times and ages in relation to the Son, we could refer to one of the anathemas formulated at the second Antiochene council in 341, which closely resembles Theodoret's previous statement:

> Εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν ὑγιῆ τῶν γραφῶν ὀρθὴν πίστιν διδάσκει, λέγων, ἢ χρόνον ἢ καιρὸν ἢ αἰῶνα ἢ εἶναι ἢ γεγονέναι πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι τὸν Υἱόν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.[186]

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[184] Opitz, *Urkunde* 6, 12-13. Wiles argues that Arius's confession of the Son as being κτίσμα but not ποίημα is important, since the two terms were not equal for him, as they were for his opponents. Theodoret seems to stand in the Athanasian tradition by rejecting both terms without further explanation. See Wiles, 'A Textual Variant in the Nicene Creed', 430-32.

[185] Luise Abramowski, 'Συνάφεια und ἀσύγχυτος ἕνωσις als Bezeichnung für trinitarische und christologische Einheit' in *Drei christologische Untersuchungen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981), 63-109 (p. 86).

It is clear that for the sake of upholding God's immutability, one has to accept that the Father was Father eternally, since He had begotten the Son eternally. If one claimed that the Father as it were pre-existed the Son, and begot Him 'later', that would necessarily imply a change by stages within God's οὐσία, because this οὐσία initially had to include only one ὑπόστασις of the Father (who then was not yet a Father) and then another two, with the *subsequent* begetting of the Son and the procession of the Spirit. Moreover, the acceptance of such change can only result in the Arian rejection of the ὁμοουσία of the Son and of the Spirit with the Father, since their οὐσία would be a result of successive alterations of God's initial essence.

Theodoret refuses any such thought of Trinitarian subordinationism. For him God's οὐσία is eternal and unalterable. That is why he will consecrate the entire Ch. 9 to the explanation of the Word's impassible begettingby the F ather and many other chapters to prove their equality. God's eternal being presupposes a permanent pattern of one οὐσία – three ὑποστάσεις. Only within this framework can and should one speak about the relationship and interaction between the ὑποστάσεις of the Trinity.

The Son as 'reflection', 'express image' and 'icon'

In the second part of Ch. 6 Theodoret quotes various biblical passages in order to describe the condition of the Son in relation to the Father. For him, the Word's being 'the reflection of God's glory and the express image of His ὑπόστασις' (Hebrews 1:3) is the equivalent of the Nicene φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸς ἀληθινὸς ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ. On one hand, the Son is uncreated and He is Creator. On the other hand, Theodoret argues that the One, who is spoken about in Colossians 1:15 (who is indeed Jesus Christ Himself) did not become [ἐγένετο] the εἰκών of the invisible God, but rather is [ἔστιν] the image Himself. Moreover, the author cannot refer to the εἰκών merely as to the divine being of the Word, since that is also invisible, being part of God's οὐσία. The εἰκών is and has to be visible: thus, the title refers to Jesus Christ Himself. This tendency of identifying the ὑπόστασις of the Word with the incarnate Person of Jesus Christ is observable in the following conclusion also:

> Thus had the Divine Spirit instructed those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and servants of the Word in the theology concerning the Only-begotten Word of God. That is why they did not rank the Creator with the creation; they did not align the Maker among the creatures; [and for this reason] nowhere [in the Scripture] did they call a creature the honourable Child [γέννημα] of God (col. 1153B).

The above 'eyewitnesses and servants of the Word' are the apostles of Jesus Christ, who is the Word incarnate for Theodoret. He will insist upon this in *De incarnatione* also. We may conclude that the Son being ἀπαύγασμα and χαρακτήρ of God's glory and Person

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[186] Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 186. See also the sixteenth anathema of the council of Ancyra held in 358: εἴ τις τὸν Πατέρα πρεσβύτερον χρόνῳ λέγοι τοῦ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μονογένους Υἱοῦ, νεώτερον δὲ χρόνῳ τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Πατρός, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 203).

speaks of His divine eternity, whereas the title εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου speaks of His Incarnation, forecasting the discussion of that issue.

Although the problem has to be addressed several times throughout the analysis of Theodoret's Trinitarian and Christological thinking respectively, we ought to mention that the expression ὑπόστασις plays a significant role in his teaching on the Trinity. For the pre-Ephesian Theodoret the term ὑπόστασις certainly means more than 'nature' [φύσις] concerning individual features, but at this stage it does not yet denote such a completely individual entity like e.g. πρόσωπον. Nevertheless, in *De Trinitate* the term ὑπόστασις is constantly approaching the meaning of πρόσωπον, so that we can probably say it means at least a 'personal reality'. Another interesting point is that Theodoret – in the manner of the Antiochenes and not only – prefers to use πρόσωπον when speaking about Christ the Word incarnate and to use both ὑπόστασις and πρόσωπον (the latter probably with a little less emphasis) to denote the Persons of the Trinity. The use of the term ὑπόστασις in Christology was a new development of the pre-Ephesian period.[187]

The Son as ὁ ὤν and Mediator

Ch. 7 exemplifies brightly the extent to which our author can apply God's titles of the Old Testament to the Word and thus to Jesus Christ. The author insists that the verbs ὤν, ἦν, ὑπάρχων and ἐστίν are consistently used within Scripture to describe the eternal Son of God, and that the evangelists never use ἐγένετο when referring to His divinity. This leads him to conclude that the ὁ ὤν of Exodus 3:14 is the Son Himself, since even the 'foremost fighters of blasphemy' consider the Father being incomprehensible, and therefore 'they call the Son a mediator [μεσίτης] between the Father and the creation, claiming that He [the Son] had appeared and spoken to the patriarchs and to the prophets' (col. 1153D).[188]

Theodoret does not invoke it here, yet the ascription of ὁ ὤν to the Son is connected with Jesus's statement in John 8:58. Since the title of the chapter is 'Demonstration from the Old [Testament] that the Son is eternal', Theodoret quotes Jeremiah 31:31 referring to the new covenant. The focus upon the Person of Christ is imminent:

> Let ask therefore: who gave the new covenant? Is it not clear for all, that the Master Christ[189] is its author? For He Himself exclaims in the holy Gospels: It was said to those of old: you shall not kill. But I say to you [...]. Therefore, the Master Christ gave us the new covenant. Furthermore, the One who made this [new covenant] possible, gave also the old one to Israel after the release from Egypt. Nevertheless, the giver of the old covenant and the deliverer of the Egyptian slavery was undoubtedly the same One, who had sent Moses to the Pharaoh. As He Himself said, 'Say this to the children of Israel: I AM had sent me unto you' (col. 1156A).

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[187] See also section *4.5.6 Terminology* in Ch. 4 of the present work.

[188] In his work *Adversus haereses* I, 16, 2 Irenaeus already says that the Word spoke to the patriarchs and in the Incarnation He became visible in the man made on the image and likeness of God.

[189] The term ὁ Δεσπότης [Χριστός] as Theodoret's typical term to replace Κύριος occurs for 21 times in *De Trinitate* and 24 times in *De incarnatione*.

Here Theodoret asserts unequivocally that ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστός is the author of the New Covenant, moreover that He is the same ὁ ὤν who gave the Old one to Moses and had sent him to the Pharaoh. The eternal ὑπόστασις of the Word of God is clearly identified with the Master Christ, with the reiteration of αὐτός as referring to the same Person: αὐτὸς [...] βοᾷ, αὐτὸς ἀπέστειλε, αὐτὸς εἶπε. This is parallel to Chalcedon's εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτός, as we shall see it again in Ch. 10 where Theodoret speaks of the Only-begotten and of the Firstborn as being the same. In fact, Theodoret had already asserted εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτός in Ch. 12 of his *Expositio*. Here, when using the analogy of the sun and the light to exemplify the union of the φύσεις within Christ, Theodoret refuses their separation into two subjects after the union:

> οὐκ ἄν τις εἴποι μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, τὸν μὲν κεχωρισμένως Υἱὸν τὸν θεῖον Λόγον, τὸν δὲ [πάλιν] υἱὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ἀλλ᾽ ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἑκάτερα νοήσει, ὡς ἓν φῶς καὶ ἕνα ἥλιον, τό τε δεχθὲν φῶς, τό τε δεξάμενον σῶμα. Πάλιν ὡς ἓν μὲν φῶς, καὶ εἷς ἥλιος, φύσεις δὲ δύο· ἡ μὲν φωτός, ἡ δὲ σώματος ἡλιακοῦ· οὕτω κἀνταῦθα, εἷς μὲν ὁ Υἱός, καὶ Κύριος, καὶ Χριστός, καὶ Μονογένης· φύσεις δὲ δύο· ἡ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα.[190]

The closing part of Ch. 7 makes clear that 'the One who appeared [ὁ ὀφθείς] on earth and lived among the people' according to Baruch 3:36-38 is none else than ὁ θεὸς Λόγος τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν ἀναλαβών. Thus, the prophetic message is consonant with the Gospel, since John and Paul are speaking of the same ὁ ὤν.

The Son and the assumed nature

As one would expect, Theodoret explains in Ch. 8 the relationship between the Word and the assumed human nature. After a harsh refusal to call a mere creature the One, 'who was begotten timelessly and impassibly' of the Father, he says:

> Therefore those bestowed with the mysteries of the divine knowledge assert [such expressions as] 'was made' [ἐγένετο], 'assumed' [ἔλαβε] and their like not theologising [οὐ θεολογοῦντες], but rather to proclaim the Incarnation [τὴν οἰκονομίαν κηρύττοντες] (col. 1157A).

In order to understand Theodoret's perception of the biblical authors' twofold way of speaking about the Word incarnate, we have to take a closer look at a few notions present in the above passage. Here one can recognise three expressions (two of them part of the previous tradition) applied occasionally as technical terms by which Theodoret distinguishes between different theological areas. The three terms are θεογνωσία, θεολογία (here: θεολογοῦντες) and οἰκονομία.

As it results from the context of *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*, Theodoret tends to use θεολογία in its classic sense, i.e. to denote the teaching about the being of God. Thus, θεολογία becomes an expression by which the author refers almost exclusively to the

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[190] *PG* 6, 1229D-1232A. Cf. I. C. Th. de Otto, ed., *Iustini philosophi et Martyris Opera quae feruntur omnia*, Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Saeculi Secundi, vol. 4, 3rd edn (Iena: Gust. Fischer, 1880), 48.

theological area concerning the divine aspect of God's being. This is probably closest to becoming a technical term to mean 'doctrine of the Trinity'. In his *Letter* 113 *to Leo* Theodoret himself refers to these treatises as περὶ θεολογίας καὶ τῆς θείας ἐνανθρωπήσεως (*SC* 111, 64). The term θεολογία here can denote only the first treatise, which deals with the issues concerning the Trinity.

In turn, οἰκονομία is often used referring to the Incarnation. One might almost say that Theodoret uses θεολογία in a close sense to our expression describing the discipline of Trinitarian doctrine (e.g. like the German *Trinitätslehre*), whereas οἰκονομία for him occasionally means something like our terms 'Christology and soteriology'. Nevertheless, these formulae – especially the latter – are not strictly applied technical terms and have broader senses of application.[191]

Grillmeier traces back the use of *oikonomia* to Irenaeus of Lyons, Tatian, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and the Antiochenes, pointing out the differences in meaning or its augmentation.[192] In the first version of *Christ in Christian Tradition* he also distinguished between the pre-Nicene doctrine of οἰκονομία (which combines the development of the Trinity with creation and salvation-history) and the post-Nicene differentiation between οἰκονομία and θεολογία. Grillmeier sees Eusebius as being the last adept of the former usage, whereas Athanasius is regarded as being the first adept of the latter distinction.[193] Concerning the Nicene momentum in the interpretation of these terms in reaction to Arianism, Grillmeier writes:

> The *pre-Nicene* concept of *oikonomia* (combining the development of the Trinity with creation and Incarnation) is to be considered as the starting-point of Arian theology and the Nicene discussion. Nicaea, however, is a turning point in the history of *oikonomia* because now the distinction (but not a separation) between *theologia* (the Trinitarian process) and *oikonomia* (creation and salvation history) is stressed.[194]

In the light of Grillmeier's classification, we can say that Theodoret interprets these two terms in the post-Nicene manner, in close sense to the usage of the Cappadocians as well as to his Antiochene forerunners. The term οἰκονομία was used by Chrysostom and Theodore, and it is present in Gregory of Nyssa's confession, with the meaning of *salvation.* Gregory writes: ὁμολογοῦντες […] τὴν γενομένην παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου τῆς κτίσεως ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκονομίαν.[195]

The third term, θεογνωσία or divine knowledge (the knowledge of God) might be interpreted as a condensation of the meaning of the other two. It seems that for Theodoret

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[191] A rather interesting use of οἰκονομία is to be found e.g. the following passage from Ch. 31 of *De incarnatione*: 'For we do not divide the dispensation into two persons' [οὐ γὰρ εἰς πρόσωπα δύο τὴν οἰκονομίαν μερίζομεν] (col., 1472C). Here οἰκονομία is understood in the sense of God's salvific plan and act in becoming human.

[192] Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, pp. 101, 112, 136, 145 etc.

[193] Aloys Grillmeier, S.J., *Christ in Christian Tradition, from the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451)* (London-Oxford: A. R. Mowbray, 1965), 180, note 3.

[194] Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 1st edn, 190, note 3.

[195] Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 270. For Theodore's use of οἰκονομία, see his confession on pp. 302-4.

θεογνωσία is both θεολογία and οἰκονομία, thus representing the summary of necessary teaching about the being, the Incarnation as well as the creative, providential and saving acts of God. He applies this term in Ch. 1, saying that the apostles enlighten those in the darkness of ignorance (i.e. in impiety) by the rays of θεογνωσία. The expression reappears at the end of Ch. 3 before the passage on the Father, where the author discloses his intention 'to present in a clear fashion the teaching of θεογνωσία'. Here the term has a more technical meaning, since the entire Ch. 3 is concerned with the mode of instruction of the believers. In the text quoted above from Ch. 8 θεογνωσία is regarded as a key to the divine mysteries.

Although these terms are not rigidly definable, it might still be useful to put them into a table together with their closest meaning, as follows:

Theodoret's term	Its possible meaning(s) for Theodoret and its closest equivalent today
θεολογία	• the doctrine of God's divine being and of the Trinity
οἰκονομία	• God's plan to save the world by sending His Son • the doctrine on the Incarnation (including Christology, soteriology etc.)
θεογνωσία [θεία] διδασκαλία (1149C) τὰ εὐαγγελικὰ δόγματα (1420B)	• theology (in our understanding), including the teaching on the Trinity, Christology, soteriology, creation etc. • God's teaching given to His messengers; a teaching which enables the believers to perceive their salvation

Thus, when Theodoret says that those bestowed with the mysteries of θεογνωσία assert ἐγένετο, ἔλαβε and their like οὐ θεολογοῦντες, he means that in those biblical passages the authors are 'not theologising', i.e. they do not apply these terms to the divine οὐσία of the Trinitarian Persons, but rather to the οἰκονομία, i.e. referring to the Son's act of Incarnation. Thus, θεογνωσία seems to equate to both θεολογία and οἰκονομία, whereas the latter two are not equivalent.

At the end of Ch. 8, Theodoret turns to explain the doctrinal implications of Scripture's consistent distinction between 'was' and 'became'. He refers to John first:

> The blessed John was the first to announce that 'the Word was made flesh' after he had already said that 'in the beginning was the Word'. After having applied the term 'was' [τὸ ἦν] repeatedly to the Godhead, on turning to the question of the Incarnation [εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως οἰκονομίαν ἐλθών][196] he necessarily adds the expression 'was made' [τὸ ἐγένετο]. For

[196] Origen has already used the term οἰκονομία τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως (See Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 2nd rev. edn, 145.

> what the God-Word assumed of us was not eternal from the beginning [οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀεὶ ἡ ἐξ ἡμῶν ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου ἀπαρχή], but rather was made and taken on [ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἀνελήφθη] by the God-Word towards the end of the ages (col. 1157A).

We can observe how both natures are at first addressed in impersonal terms: θεότης and ἡ ἐξ ἡμῶν ληφθεῖσα. At first glance one might say that we are dealing with the by then classical Christological scheme ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο of Gregory Nazianzen (*Epistula* 101 *ad Cledonium* in *PG* 37,180). Nevertheless, it is observable, how towards the end of the fragment the term θεότης becomes τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγος, whereas ἡ ἐξ ἡμῶν ληφθεῖσα still retains its impersonal form. Moreover, the verbs referring to the 'what' assumed from us also suggest that the action is done by the assuming party, i.e. by the Word of God: ληφθεῖσα, ἀνελήφθη.

Theodoret tries to show here how the union without mixture of an uncreated and a created οὐσία was possible in the one Person. One of his greatest concerns here is to evade any Arian suggestion that the Word might be a creature. That is why applies the traditional explanation concerning the difference between ἦν and ἐγένετο. The expressions ἦν, ὤν and ὑπάρχων are proper to the divine οὐσία of the Word, since these speak of His eternity and pre-existence. The verb ἐγένετο (became) does not denote eternal existence, but rather refers to a certain moment in time. Therefore, in order to uphold the eternity and immutability of the Word's divine οὐσία, Theodoret necessarily interprets both ἐγένετο and ἔλαβε and their like as referring to the Word's act of Incarnation, yet not to ἡ ἐξ ἡμῶν ληφθεῖσα. As Theodoret says, John turns on to the οἰκονομία τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως when asserting ἐγένετο. Here οἰκονομία means God's saving plan, i.e. the predefined divine order of the Incarnation, but does not refer directly to ἡ ἐξ ἡμῶν ληφθεῖσα. This might seem as an intention to introduce a second subject of predication within the Person of the Incarnate, nevertheless, this is not the reason why Theodoret distinguishes between 'was' and 'was made'.

The second biblical source quoted by Theodoret at this stage is Paul. The line of interpretation remains the same as before, but we find a few new elements as well:

> The blessed Paul does the same also, for he says, 'being in the form of God', and adds, 'He did not regard as robbery to be equal with God'. He then adduces: 'He emptied Himself and took on the form of a servant'. Thus on one hand [Paul] fits the verb 'took on' [λαβών] to 'the form of the servant', and on the other hand he conjoins [συζεύξας] 'the form of God' with the expression '[ever] was' [ὑπάρχων] (col. 1157AB).

Until here, the mode of approach is similar to the case of John. There are seemingly two impersonal subjects: μορφὴ θεοῦ and μορφὴ δούλου. The first one is the eternal, uncreated οὐσία and thus receives the verb ὑπάρχων, whereas the second one is the creature, so Theodoret – together with Paul – appropriates to it the verb λαβών, although grammatically it describes the action of the Word. This might seem a contradiction in itself, yet the second part of the passage makes it clear again which of the two participants is regarded to be the acting subject of the assuming:

> Yet, since the form of God is pre-existent [προϋπάρχουσα], or rather ever existent [ἀεὶ ὑπάρχουσα], He took on [ἔλαβε] the form of the servant. Therefore the Word of God is neither a creation [κτίσμα] nor a creature [ποίημα], even less one of the non-existent things, but [the One] born of the Father who is eternally with Him, and together with the Father receives the same worship [προσκύνησις] from the kind-hearted [believers] [παρὰ τῶν εὐγνωμόνων] (col. 1157B).

As we see, μορφὴ θεοῦ – in the same fashion as θεότης in the previous passage – again becomes ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγος, whereas μορφὴ δούλου retains its impersonal character. The expressions Theodoret uses here speak plainly of his intention: the form of God is προϋπάρχουσα, or rather ἀεὶ ὑπάρχουσα, therefore the form of God must have taken on the form of the servant. It is the form of God, which in the next sentence turns to be none else than the Word Himself, who performs the assuming. Grammatically speaking Theodoret seems to appropriate the verb λαβών to the form of the servant as to a passive direct object and not as to an acting subject. He does not deny at any stage that the Incarnation was entirely the action of the Word. Thus, together with upholding the Word's immutability, Theodoret still makes Him the only active player in the act of Incarnation, without giving any room for the collaboration of the human φύσις e.g. by speaking of its voluntary acceptance to be taken on. In both passages ἡ ἐξ ἡμῶν ληφθεῖσα and μορφὴ δούλου represent the passive party, which is simply 'taken on' or 'assumed'. The human side does not play any significant role in the act of the Word's ἐνανθρώπησις, although it will have a certain function in the further work of salvation.

As it results from the last sentences, one of Theodoret's primary intentions is to show that at any stage before, through and after the Incarnation the Word of God could not be labelled as a creature. He is neither κτίσμα nor ποίημα, even less ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, but rather the One ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθείς, who is together with the Father eternally. This is the only method Theodoret can conceive in order to eliminate the picture of an Arian passible, created Word. Nevertheless, he is also eager to avoid any suggestion of an Apollinarian mixture between the uncreated and created οὐσίαι of the Saviour, again in order to keep the Word's divinity undiminished. That is why he shall constantly speak in various terms of 'union' and not of 'confusion', thus seeking to safeguard the Word's incorruptibility. Most emphatically, however, the act of the Incarnation is not an accidental happening during which two impersonal subjects somehow come together, but it is rather the intentional act of the eternal Word of God, who plays the active part in the entire process. This is evident from the above passages. One might even say that Theodoret here presents a peculiar union of a 'who' with a 'what', although his 'what' is probably more than the 'what' of the Alexandrians – or, at least later on, becomes more active.

Excursus: The inadequacy of the Arian syllogism

Whilst analysing this passage – starting from the reference to John until the end of the chapter – Clayton mentions the 'Arian syllogism' which he had adopted from Sullivan.[197] This syllogism, as it appears in Sullivan and Clayton, is the following:

- Major premise: the Word is the subject even of the human operations and sufferings of Christ;
- Minor premise: whatever is predicated of the Word must be predicated of Him in his nature, that is, κατὰ φύσιν.
- Conclusion: the Word is limited in his φύσις or nature, being passibly affected by the human operations and sufferings of Christ. Thus, the divine οὐσία cannot be predicated of the Word, because He is other than the Father κατὰ φύσιν.[198]

According to both Sullivan and Clayton, the basic difference between the Alexandrian and the Antiochene teaching was the following: the Alexandrians rejected the minor premise, whereas the Antiochenes rejected the major one.

This seems to be a concise and descriptive distinction between Antioch and Alexandria, although it tends to be generalising to the extent that it might do injustice to either party if taken to an extreme. I do not intend to question its general validity despite the fact that it is not fully applicable to all the theologians of the period or even to the works of just one theologian if they were written in different times. Nevertheless, I sense three difficulties in applying the above scheme in order to define one's orthodoxy. First, a unanimously acceptable clarification of the Antiochene and Alexandrian terms – although φύσις here means undoubtedly 'nature' for both Sullivan and Clayton – is practically impossible concerning the Nestorian controversy without doing injustice to one or more theologians. Second, the scheme tends to oversimplify a rather complex issue, since the theologians of the period approached the question of the union in Christ from much wider perspectives than the scheme is able to reflect upon.[199] Third, if taken to an extreme, on the very basis of the Arian syllogism one is able to charge virtually anyone with heterodoxy.

As we have said, one of the crucial issues of the Ephesian-Chalcedonian period is the clarification of terms and their continuous shift in meaning. The meaning of φύσις in the minor premise – although Sullivan and Clayton interpret it as 'nature' and not as ὑπόστασις – still causes a problem when the scheme is applied. E.g. for Cyril φύσις and ὑπόστασις often meant the same, which can be a source of confusion. Clayton spends a considerable time to determine how Theodore, Cyril and Theodoret were using these two terms. On one hand, in the case of Theodore and Theodoret he emphasises their failure to

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[197] F. A. Sullivan, *The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia*, Annalecta Gregoriana No. 82 (Rome: Annalecta Gregoriana, 1956); Clayton, 'Theodoret', 201.
[198] Clayton, 'Theodoret', 105.
[199] It was not just Christology or Trinitarian doctrine in the proper sense of the word, which caused most theologians to assert Christological statements. There were soteriological, anthropological, moral and various other concerns which motivated one's attitude both towards Arianism and Apollinarianism. The above scheme, however, leaves little room for the nuances, bringing the question down to ultimately one, almost fatal choice between the two premises, almost ignoring e.g. the anti-Apollinarian concerns. My personal discussions with Prof. Luise Abramowski – for which I cannot be thankful enough – convinced me that there is hardly any theologian of the period, who could be interpreted in a full impartial manner on the terms of the Arian syllogism.

predicate a hypostatic union because of their two-physeis scheme (which Clayton sees as resulting inevitably in a two-hypostasis and thus a two-subject model). On the other hand, although admitting it, he does not express any major concerns regarding Cyril's interchangeable usage of φύσις and ὑπόστασις,[200] which ultimately confused not only the Antiochenes, but even some members of his own party, who were convinced that Cyril betrayed his initial position when he signed the *Formula of Reunion* in 433.[201] Clayton writes,

> Cyril in that epistle [i.e. with the 12 anathemas] insisted that 'all the terms used in the Gospel are to be referred to one Person, the one incarnate *hypostasis* of the Word.' Obviously Cyril is making a distinction – even if perhaps unconsciously – between what is predicated of the *ousia* of the Word and of the *hypostasis* of the Word, which he links to *prosopon* – at least here. In other places his ease in discussing the one *physis* incarnate or the one *hypostasis* incarnate can just as easily lead to confusion, especially for an Antiochene like Theodoret, but it would seem that though he may have failed to develop a consistently careful terminology to express his idea of Christ, yet what he was trying to do was to break what we have come to call the Arian Syllogism by asserting that what is predicated of the Word need not be predicated of his divine nature or *ousia*; he denied the minor premise that whatever is predicated of the Word must be predicated of him *kata physin*.[202]

This is certainly a valid assessment and vindication of Cyril regarding the whole of his oeuvre. The Alexandrian patriarch cannot indeed be charged with Apollinarianism or with mixing the two natures and his orthodoxy is not under question in this thesis. What has to be admitted though, is that Theodoret was no less eager in trying to break the Arian syllogism, although in a different way. For him the Apollinarian danger undoubtedly represented a somewhat larger concern than for Cyril.[203] According to Clayton, the Alexandrian patriarch tried to break the Arian syllogism by denying the minor premise at the ultimate cost of becoming terminologically confusing. In turn, Theodoret rejected not the major premise itself (as Clayton suggests), but rather its theopaschite implications (which were of course rejected previously by Athanasius and by Cyril as well). Nevertheless, this was Theodoret's way to follow – or his price to pay in turn – to elaborate a rapidly consolidating terminology, his own manner to prepare the ground for the *Chalcedonense*. I also find it difficult to see how the unequivocal

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[200] For a more detailed discussion of this issue see Ch. 4, sections *4.5.5 The union of worship – the 'cultic prosopon'* and *4.5.6 Terminology*.

[201] Concerning the turmoil following the signing of the Formula of Reunion, see e.g. R. V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon, A Historical and Doctrinal Survey* (London: SPCK, 1961), 18-29.

[202] Clayton, 'Theodoret', 258-262.

[203] In this sense I find the explanation of Paul Parvis quite accurate: 'It is true that Theodoret had a life-long interest in haeresiology, and it is true that he felt himself surrounded by heresies; they abounded, secretly, in the beliefs of his opponents and, openly, in the wilds of the Cyrrhestica. […] Among many examples, it may be observed that Apollinarianism lurked in the teachings of Cyril (*Reprehensio Duodecim Capitum seu Anathematismorum Cyrilli*, ed. Schwartz, *ACO* I, 1, 6, 107 and 142) and his Monophysite successors (H. E. V, 3, 8; p. 280, Parmentier-Scheidweiler) and that the preface to *Eranistes* lists the various heresies from which his opponents had gathered their impious opinions (*PG* 83, 28-29).' See Parvis, 'Theodoret' s Commentary on Paul', 105, note 69.

acceptance of the minor premise by Theodoret can be upheld, since he has left plenty of room for the attributions of the human experiences to the Word on account of the union.

My second objection against the Arian syllogism as a test of one's orthodoxy concerns its limited area of validity. The scheme seems ignore in a substantial measure the enormous influence of Apollinarianism in the fifth century and the theologians' eagerness to resist it. It does not seem to give enough room to understand those writers whose concern is to resist Apollinarianism in the same measure as to deny Arianism. Hence, it cannot be claimed that the former idea was any less erroneous than the latter. As Luise Abramowski rightly observes,

> Vermutlich ist die antiochenische Unterscheidungschristologie in ihrem Ansatz antiarianisch; ihre Argumente ließen sich aber sehr wohl gegen die apollinaristische Christologie und ihre Nachwirkungen (auf dem Wege über unterschobene Athanasiana) bei Kyrill von Alexandrien verwerten. Und in der Tat stellt die Dogmengeschichtsschreibung die erstaunliche Nähe und Verwandschaft der arianischen und apollinarischen christologischen Konstruktion fest.[204]

In my understanding of Theodoret's Cappadocian-Antiochene heritage concerning both its Trinitarian and Christological aspects, many of the arguments of the Bishop of Cyrus cannot be interpreted adequately except from an anti-Apollinarian perspective. This is the very angle the above scheme seems to deny him. One might even say that although in both parts of the treatise he constantly refuses all heresies, Theodoret's main concern in *De Trinitate* is to refute Arius, whereas his main rival in *De incarnatione* is Apollinaris (of course, not exclusively).

On the third level one has to admit that despite its firm limits – or probably because of them – the Arian syllogism remains open to a partial interpretation. As we have said, if taken to an extreme, on the very basis of the rejection or acceptance of either premise, there is not one version, which could not be regarded as heterodox from a certain point of view. On one hand, the rejection of the major premise and the acceptance of the minor one can easily be interpreted as leading to a Nestorian two-sons Christology. On the other hand, the univocal acceptance of the major premise and the rejection of the minor one might as well be regarded as Apollinarian theopaschism. In my opinion the first charge is as invalid against Theodoret as the second is against Cyril, since the thinking and reasons of both are much more complex than the Arian syllogism is able to mirror. E.g. if we take Clayton's words above in their literal sense, based on the Arian syllogism we could charge the Alexandrian patriarch paradoxically with admitting two subjects of predication (the οὐσία and the ὑπόστασις) – yet not within the Person of Christ, but within the Word Himself. The charge of Cyril's dividing the Word Himself into two subjects of predication is nonetheless ridiculous. Hence, if one wants, it can be deduced from his simultaneous refusal of the Word's suffering in his divine οὐσία together with his rejection of the minor premise of the Arian syllogism.

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[204] Abramowski, 'Συνάφεια', 102. The common elements of Arian and Apollinarian Christology are summarised by Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 238-48.

Let us return to Clayton's analysis of Ch. 8 of *De Trinitate*. He writes:

> Theodoret's problem is the Arian syllogism, quite clearly. If Christ be understood as having μία φύσις and is also described as ἐγένετο, etc., then it follows that the Word cannot be ὁ ὤν. The Word would fall into the category of creature, a thing made, and there would have been a time when he was not. The solving of the problem raised by the Arian syllogism means that the two sets of reference terms, ὤν over against ἐγένετο, require two *physeis*, the eternal, uncreated θεότης, the one who is ὁ θεὸς Λογός, on the one hand; and on the other, the φύσις ἀναληφθείση, ἡ τοῦ δούλου μορφή, κτίσμα, ποίημα, that which has temporal creation, σάρξ ἐγένετο. For Theodoret μία ὑπόστασις (or φύσις) τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου ἐνσαρκωμένη, which he is shortly to find in Cyril, could mean only an Apollinarian passible God or Arianism's created Word (Clayton, 'Theodoret', 201-2).

Based solely on the scheme of the Arian syllogism, Clayton's rationale is acceptable. Nevertheless, the scheme does not allow him to reflect upon the different levels of participation of the Word and of the human nature respectively in Theodoret's view of the act of the Incarnation. The Bishop of Cyrus indeed presupposes two φύσεις, yet, as we have seen, only the Word is rendered in personal terms, He is the One, who does the assuming all the way through. Up to this moment, i.e. of the Incarnation, Theodoret's idea is not substantially different from Cyril's 'unconscious distinction' – as Clayton puts it – 'between what is predicated of the *ousia* of the Word and of the *hypostasis* of the Word'.

Regarding Theodoret's insistence upon the existence of two φύσεις over against Cyril's and his extremist followers' μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη I can say that it was mainly due to the hazy terminological formulation of the otherwise appropriate Christological model by the Alexandrian party. Cyril's chief analysts give adequate explanation concerning the Alexandrian patriarch's twofold use of φύσις, i.e. both in the sense of nature as well as in the sense of ὑπόστασις.[205] Such interpretation is entirely legitimate considering the whole of Cyril's oeuvre. Our problem, however, remains that whilst Cyril is being credited that his usage of the term μία φύσις is neither Apollinarianism nor an early manifestation of Monophysitism, Theodoret is still regarded with suspicion despite the fact that based on the above he had made the proper use of terms, and clearly was closer to Chalcedon's ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν δύο φύσεσιν, than most of his contemporaries. Moreover, as we have quoted, Clayton gives μία ὑπόστασις (or φύσις) τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου ἐνσαρκωμένη without any comment, just as if the two terms – ὑπόστασις and φύσις – were interchangeable. If this were still acceptable in 431 with the necessary explanations, this is not what Chalcedon validated later. In the Chalcedonense Christ is confessed to be one πρόσωπον, one ὑπόστασις, but two φύσεις and two οὐσίαι, thus settling that ὑπόστασις is rather the synonym for πρόσωπον than for φύσις. This being granted though, it follows that whilst Cyril's μία ὑπόστασις

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[205] For a more recent analysis of the history and relationship between ὑπόστασις and φύσις see Aloys Grillmeier, *Fragmente zur Christologie, Studien zum altkirchlichen Christusbild*, ed. by Theresia Hainthaler (Freiburg: Herder, 1997), 139-51.

indeed pointed to Chalcedon, his μία φύσις did not. In the same fashion Theodoret's initial refusal of μία ὑπόστασις was also discarded in 451,[206] but his opposition to μία φύσις was approved by Chalcedon's ἐν δύο φύσεσιν.

Therefore, looking back from the perspective of Chalcedon, terminologically neither of the two theologians could be considered as being fully on the right or on the wrong path around the time of the third ecumenical council. Both of them were indeed walking towards the same direction, although in different ways. The major problem of Clayton's Arian syllogism remains that it arbitrarily proscribes only one possible way towards Chalcedon. In doing so, on one hand it has to ignore or diminish the obstacles along its chosen way (e.g. the terminological problems facing Cyril), whereas on the other hand it has to over-amplify any dilemma the other party may meet (e.g. Theodoret's δύο φύσεις model and its implications), including the glossing over of any issue, which does not fit within its own system (e.g. the differences between Cyril's and Theodoret's anti-Apollinarian concerns).

The Son's specific titles in relation to the Father and to the Spirit

Begotten impassibly

In Ch. 9 of *De Trinitate* entitled *On the begetting from the Father* Theodoret resists the Arian idea concerning any 'division of God's being' through the Father's begetting of the Word. He argues that God's begetting is entirely different from the human, since He begets impassibly in the same fashion as He can create impassibly. Hence, this latter statement is accepted by the Arians also. The impassibility of God's begetting is a crucial aspect of Theodoret's Trinitarian thinking, because this idea determines his attitude towards the Lord's human birth from Virgin Mary. Theodoret will come to assert in Ch. 24 of *De incarnatione* that the Lord 'received our passions fully, except sin' (col. 1461B). Thus, the true becoming human of the otherwise impassible Word involves the very acceptance of the human sufferings especially because the Word as the Second Person of the Trinity is by nature beyond these. Hence, what Theodoret in fact does in Ch. 9 of *De Trinitate* is nothing else than a predefinition of the Word's impassible begetting by the Father, to be paralleled later with His unequivocal acceptance of human suffering:

> When hearing the word 'begetting' [γέννησιν], nobody should think about the sufferings of our birth [τὰ πάθη τῆς ἡμετέρας γεννήσεως], like weaning, flow [of blood], labours, or anything similar to these, since these are the passions of the bodies. God, however, is incorporeal, impassible, changeless, and immutable and will eternally remain so. Yet if anybody argued that painless birth does not exist, [he] should also receive this reasoning from the [biblical passages] on the creation: for if with [birth] there is cutting and flow of blood, in the same fashion the creatures are closely accompanied by concern, toil, sweat, instruments and the pre-existent matter, by failures and

[206] See section *4.5.6 Terminology* in Ch. 4 of the present work.

> other things akin to these. Yet if the mere will is sufficient for God to create everything, and by His will He immediately brought the non-existent into being, the adversary should also admit that God's begetting was free from all sufferings. And since He did not create as humans do, in the same fashion He did not beget similarly [to human begetting] either (col. 1157CD).

We observe again how Theodoret carefully avoids subordinating the Father to the σωμάτων παθήματα, remaining faithful to what he had said in Ch. 4 about the Father's not following τῶν σωμάτων ἀκολουθίαν. The idea of God's impassible begetting together with the acceptance of the inefficiency of human analogies regarding His divine fatherhood is the key to understand our author's attempt to escape simultaneously from both the Arian and the Apollinarian errors. In fact, in the first sentence of the next chapter, Theodoret gives a biblical explanation of the impassible begetting of the Word by making use of the meaning of λόγος:

> For these reasons the Word is also named Son, being born impassibly, like the word, which emerges impassibly from the thought (col. 1157D).

The consistent use of the terms ἀσώματος, ἀπαθής, ἄτρεπτος, ἀναλλοίωτος referring to God in the previous fragment might be regarded as Theodoret's early anticipation of Chalcedonian Christology. Many earlier writers had already shared these views, including Athanasius, who upholds the impassibility of the divine οὐσία in his *Letter to Epictetus*. Cyril's other favourite authority, Gregory Thaumatourgos, also uses the last two expressions in his confession in reference to the eternal immutability of the Triad.[207] Further, the second formula of the symbol of faith drawn up at the second Antiochene council in 341 had also asserted: [πιστεύομεν] εἰς ἕνα κύριον ᾽Ιησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, θεὸν [...] ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον.[208]

Interestingly, the terms ἄτρεπτος and ἀναλλοίωτος appear twice in Arius' confession, but in a rather different sense. First they refer to God the Father and then to the Son, together with His qualification as the Father's immutable creature, although, as Arius puts it, not as one of the creatures: ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον κτίσμα τοῦ θεοῦ τέλειον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὡς ἓν τῶν κτισμάτων.[209] This is exactly the opposite way Theodoret employs the two expressions. Arius asserted that the Son is immutable by simultaneously establishing His subordination to the Father as His perfect creature, although the term κτίσμα for Arius was not equivalent with ποίημα.[210] Nevertheless, he presupposed the existence of a second immutable οὐσία or φύσις of the Son different from the Father's own essence. Theodoret argues the other way around: the Son is unchanging exactly because He is partaker of the only divine οὐσία and φύσις (shared by His Father and the Spirit), which is immutable. For the Bishop of Cyrus the concept of a created immutable nature or essence, as Arius intends to interpret the being of the Son, is a contradiction in itself.

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[207] ἄτρεπτος καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος ἡ αὐτὴ τριὰς ἀεί. Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 255.
[208] Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 185.
[209] Opitz, *Urkunde* 6, 12.
[210] Wiles, 'A Textual Variant in the Nicene Creed', 430-32.

Therefore, one of the Son's specific qualities in relation to the Father is that He is γεννητός (over against the Father being ἀγέννητος). This quality of the Son distinguishes Him from His Father. Further, He is ἀπαθῶς γεννηθείς, as opposed to human begetting. This latter epithet identifies the Son as the only impassibly begotten divine being in opposition to all other begetting. Theodoret now turns to employ two biblical titles of Jesus Christ in order to explain the difference between the Son's eternal begetting and the becoming human of the Word in time.

Only-begotten and Firstborn

The Word is named Son, since He is the One born without torment from the Father. In Ch. 10 Theodoret asserts that the Son is ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννητῶς προελθών. Both latter expressions are important, since the Son indeed comes forth from the Father, but He is forthcoming through begetting. This is opposed to the Holy Spirit's procession without being begotten. The author stresses that the Word is called God because of being a partaker of the paternal nature [τῆς πατρικῆς φύσεως μετέχων]. The entire imagery of the Son being the εἰκών and reflection of God mentioned in Ch. 6 returns here. Theodoret asserts that He, the divine Word called Son, remains the unchangeable image of the begetting God [ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν ὑπάρχων τοῦ θεοῦ γεννήσαντος] (col. 1160A). He continues:

> Now concerning the God-Word one should believe, that He is Only-Begotten, who was born as One of the One in a unique way [μόνος ἐκ μόνου, καὶ μονοτρόπως γεννηθείς]; He is the reflection of [God's] glory, representing the Father in Himself and being always together with His Begetter [ἀεὶ συνὼν τῷ γεννήσαντι], like the brightness with the light. He is the express image of [God's] Person, who should be confessed not as a mere [divine] power [μὴ ψιλὴν ἐνέργειαν], but rather a living hypostasis [ζῶσαν ὑπόστασιν], who in Himself fully portrays His Begetter (col. 1160A).

The beginning of the announcement above is a clear reiteration of Nicaea's φῶς ἐκ φωτός with all its implications. The Son's quality to represent the Father in Himself [ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Πατέρα δεικνύς] will also be given great importance in Ch. 16. The Pauline expression χαρακτὴρ ὑποστάσεως is a direct premise for Theodoret's unmistakable statement concerning the Son's personal, i.e. hypostatic existence: μὴ ψιλὴν ἐνέργειαν, ἀλλὰ ζῶσαν ὑπόστασιν τὸν θεὸν Λόγον εἶναι πιστεύσῃς. This shows again the influence of the Cappadocians' Neo-Nicene hypostasis model, but not only.[211] On one hand, the emphasis upon ὑπόστασις over against a mere and impersonal ἐνέργεια shows Theodoret's concern to confer a proper and real personhood to the divine Word. On the other hand, the grammatical implications of the closure of the fragment might throw some light upon Theodoret's concept of divine ὑπόστασις.

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[211] Basil of Caesarea was among the first to elaborate a Trinitarian τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις model. In Ch. 18 of his *De Spiritu Sancto*, Basilius writes: εἷς θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ καὶ εἷς μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ ἓν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. ῾Εκάστην τῶν ὑποστάσεων μοναχῶς ἐξαγγέλλομεν (*SC* 17, 404).

As it appears in the text, it is the ὑπόστασις of the Word (and not the Word this time), which (or rather: who) in Himself fully portrays His Begetter: ζῶσαν ὑπόστασιν τὸν θεὸν Λόγον εἶναι πιστεύσῃς, ὅλον ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὸν γεννήσαντα δεικνῦσαν (note the feminine singular of ἑαυτῇ and of δεικνῦσαν). This can only mean that the ὑπόστασις of the Word for Theodoret is the Word Himself, i.e. His very personal being. Moreover, the idea of the ὑπόστασις portraying the Begetter in Himself leads to the likely conclusion that the ὑπόστασις of the Word is understood by Theodoret to have been begotten by the ὑπόστασις of the Father. It can hardly be otherwise, since the fatherhood is the recognised peculiar ἰδιότης of the Father in the same fashion as the sonship is the ἰδιότης of the Son. These particular attributes are not represented by the common divine οὐσία or φύσις, since that is the basis of the essential sameness of the divine Persons. It is then the ὑπόστασις (and the πρόσωπον) of each Person within the Trinity, which (or rather: who) carries these attributes. Thus, the Father is Father in His ὑπόστασις and not in his οὐσία. It would seem logical then that the origin of the Son's ὑπόστασις is to be found not in the common divine οὐσία, but rather in the ὑπόστασις of the Father. Despite the likeliness of this deduction, we cannot settle the matter since Theodoret does not discuss it in any detail.

Whatever was the reason for Theodoret's formulation above, it made at least one thing clear: namely that for him the ὑπόστασις as being an active subject of predication with personhood is conceivable. In my opinion, the term ὑπόστασις here is closest in meaning to the Latin 'persona'. One possible reason why Theodoret could identify this term with πρόσωπον in his late Christology was perhaps this early yet consistent belief that the Word is indeed a ζῶσα ὑπόστασις, a living Person, with the most emphatic and acute meaning of the aorist participle.

It might be argued, however, that ὑπόστασις here refers merely to the divine Word Himself and not to the entire Person of Jesus Christ, thus suggesting that Theodoret in fact proclaims a Nestorian union of two ὑποστάσεις in the Incarnation. If this were so, it would follow that in the second treatise we should be able to find a clear statement or hint concerning the union of two ὑποστάσεις, i.e. of the divine Word and of the human person respectively in the one πρόσωπον of Jesus Christ. There is no such suggestion in either tract. One has to remember also that not long before writing them, Theodoret refuted Cyril's second anathema, which contained the expression ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν. His silence over the issue in *De incarnatione*, including the avoidance of ὑπόστασις in his Christology again might be regarded as befitting the generally irenical purpose of both treatises.

Returning now to the two biblical titles of the Incarnate Lord, we observe that by paralleling Μονογενής with πρωτότοκος Theodoret tries to evince the twofold nature or being of His one Person, as follows:

> Yet the term 'Firstborn' is the name of the dispensation [τῆς οἰκονομίας ὄνομα] and not of the divine nature [οὐκ ἔστι τῆς θεῖας φύσεως]. Because how would it be possible for the God-Word to be Only-begotten and Firstborn also? For the two names are contradictory: the 'Only-begotten' denotes the sole descendant [τὸν μόνον γεννηθέντα], whereas 'Firstborn' indicates the one born before others [τὸν πρὸ ἑτέρων τεχθέντα], thus preceding them

> with [His] birth. Hence, the God-Word does not have a brother, since He is Only-begotten. But how could the Firstborn be the One who alone was born of the Father? Therefore, it is evident, that the name 'Firstborn' belongs to the dispensation (col. 1160AB).

In the above text the meaning of οἰκονομία is a rather interesting yet hardly determinable issue. It seems to denote the act of the union of the Word with the manhood and its result. At least we can say that Theodoret does not formulate in such concrete terms here as in e.g. the *Formula of Sardica*, which bluntly opposes the Word to the human being:

> ὁμολογοῦμεν Μονογενῆ καὶ Πρωτότοκον, ἀλλὰ Μονογενῆ τὸν Λόγον, ὃς πάντοτε ἦν καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Πατρί, τό· πρωτότοκος δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ (Hahn, *Bibliothek,* 189).

Theodoret tries to clarify the Trinitarian and Christological function of the two biblical titles. Taking into account the significance of 'naming', we might say that by ascribing πρωτοτόκος to the οἰκονομία, he suggests two different things:

- first, he defends the Word's unique begetting by the Father;
- second, he wants to evince the very fact of the Word's becoming human.

In this attempt, however, one could again raise the doubt whether Theodoret applies these two terms to as it were two uniting subjects or persons, thus again using Nestorian language. The answer to the question probably is that on one hand Theodoret is primarily concerned with the defence of the Son's divine begetting by the Father, which is and has to be entirely different from any human begetting. We have seen how Arius could apply even the terms ἄτρεπτος and ἀναλλοίωτος to the Son and still uphold His being the κτίσμα of the Father. Further, this begetting of the Father – as Theodoret sees it – is absolutely unique: no other begetting or forthcoming is to be likened to it, not even the procession of the Holy Spirit, as we shall see. That is probably why Theodoret is careful in not using the term 'Firstborn' referring solely to the Word of God, since it might imply that our creation as God's own image could also be regarded as being somewhat similar to the Word's 'Arian begetting', i.e. His being created, a thought he vehemently refuses. 'The God-Word does not have a brother, thus being Only-begotten' – he says. The term ἀδελφός here indeed comprises its literal meaning: it denotes the one, who came out of the same δελφύς (womb). The God-Word, as the Only-begotten of the Father, does not have 'brothers' in the sense that the Father had begotten Him only ahead of all times. Hence, it also follows that our being the children of God cannot be interpreted as a 'natural' condition. It is rather our adoption as God's children through Christ.

Theodoret invokes a few biblical texts to support his argumentation like Romans 8:29 (concerning the Son being 'the Firstborn among many brethren') and says, 'But whose brothers are the believers according to nature? Not of the God-Word, but of the manhood of the same nature, since they are fashioned akin to it' (col. 1160B). The shadow of a Nestorian interpretation of these two titles is removed in *De Trinitate*, when Theodoret

refuses any idea of a separation within Christ the Word incarnate based on these two appellations, as follows:

> By no means do we say that the Only-begotten is a different [person] from the Firstborn, but rather we [confess] Him as the same [person], although not for the same [reason] [οὐκ ἄλλον δὲ τὸν Μονογενῆ, καὶ ἄλλον τὸν πρωτότοκον εἶναί φαμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτόν, οὐ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δέ] (col. 1160C).

This is how Theodoret distinguishes the person from the nature, i.e. the 'who' from the 'what'. He calls the incarnate Word both as Only-begotten and as Firstborn τὸν αὐτόν (as the *Chalcedonense* will do twenty years later), i.e. *the same person*. This is shown by the masculine accusative singular. The neuter accusative singular in the second part of his statement (οὐ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δέ) can by no means refer to a person. Theodoret then explains the biblical usage and meaning of the two terms:

> For He is named Only-Begotten according to [His] primeval birth [ἄνωθεν γέννησιν], and called Firstborn, who first relieved the pains of the life-giving birth. That is why He is also named Firstborn from the dead, being the first risen, and the One who opens the gates of death. He is the Firstborn of the whole creation also, who being born first in the new creation, renewed it by His birth (col. 1160C).

The above passage again refers to one subject, who ὠνόμασται, κέκληται, ὀνομάζεσται both Only-begotten and Firstborn, the naming being Theodoret's own way to attribute properties to a subject even in the ontological sense. The first and the last sentence reaffirms his belief in the double begetting of the same subject: the Only-begotten κατὰ τὴν ἄνωθεν γέννησιν is again τῇ καινῇ κτίσει τεχθείς, a new creation, which He then renews by His being γεννηθείς. Our author was aware of the Arian interpretation of Colossians 1:15, since he intensely refuses any such thought in the closing passage of Ch. 10:

> Yet if those who are stubborn – who esteem the content higher than the persuasion – said about the God-Word [Himself], that He is 'the Firstborn of every creature': we laugh at their ignorance. Since we accept this similarly, thus to display what is the best of many, the truth, which is with us. For He is the Firstborn [of the whole creation], but He is not labelled 'the first creature' of the whole creation. Therefore it is evident that He was begotten indeed before the whole creation, and nothing precedes the Son, but He had always been together with the Father, and had existed before the whole creation. The entire nature of the creatures is of course subsequent, since He brought it into being (col. 1160D).

Theodoret does two different things simultaneously. He reaffirms his acceptance of the biblical term 'Firstborn' as referring to the Word of God Himself [συγχωρήσομεν δὲ ὅμως], but adds at the same time that this acceptance is not an adherence to an Arian interpretation. On the contrary: the conspicuous distinction between πρωτοτόκος and πρωτόκτιστος makes it evident that the reason why our author had to distinguish between the two biblical titles was to resist any other concept than begetting concerning

the Word's origin, and not to determine two different subjects i.e. persons within the Person of the Incarnate. This seems to serve Theodoret's previously mentioned double goal, i.e. to defend the Word's unique begetting by the Father on one hand, and to evince the very fact of the Word's becoming human on the other. We find here the returning argument concerning the ontological difference between God's φύσις and the φύσις of all creation.

Reciprocal knowledge between Father and Son

Starting from Ch. 11, various arguments are presented in support of the Son's equality with His Father. First of these is the indispensable equality of knowledge:

> In order to demonstrate the equality of the Father with the Son, we should start with the Lord's teaching itself: 'no one knows the Son, but the Father; neither knows anyone the Father, except the Son, and any one to whom the Son wishes to reveal Him' [Matthew 11:27]. Which is the more evident expression of these? He says 'the knowledge [ἡ γνῶσις] is equal to us, for I know the Father, and am known through Him; hence the Father knows me, He being also known through me. The whole creation, however, is excluded from our knowledge. For how could that be possible, that whosoever does not share our nature [τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν οὐ κοινωνοῦσαν] would be partaker of our knowledge [κοινωνῆσαι τῆς γνώσεως]? Yet some [people] do get a small share of that insight, because I reveal to those whom I want to the [things] concerning the knowledge of the Father, like in a mirror, enigmatically' (col. 1161A).

It is again the ontological difference between the uncreated divine φύσις and the created φύσις of all creatures, which is our author's main concern here. This difference of nature is the dividing wall between the divine knowledge of God in His Trinitarian existence and the knowledge of all His creatures. The fact that it is the Son, the speaking Lord [Κύριος] who reveals [ἀποκαλύπτω] some of the γνῶσις concerning the Father throws a little light also on Theodoret's view concerning our knowledge of God. He seems convinced that the only way for us to understand our heavenly Father is through His Son, who teaches us in the Scriptures. Theodoret's view of the human attainment of θεογνωσία is thus rooted in and derives from the Father-Son relationship of the New Testament.

The subsequent passages of Ch. 11 stress the basic difference between the knowledge and thus the nature of Creator and creation. Theodoret is consistent in his affirmation concerning the Son's ultimate equality with His Father. The returning exclamation 'what kind of place does [the notion of] the smaller and the greater have?' would normally be interpreted as a consistent zeal in resisting any Arian subordinationism.[212] Nevertheless,

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[212] In fact, all Theodoret's arguments concerning the equality of knowledge, power, worship etc. converge towards his main refusal of the notions 'superior and inferior' regarding the relationship of the ὑποστάσεις of the Trinity. The influence of the first chapters of Athanasius' *Third oration against the Arians* can also be felt both in Theodoret's resistance against these notions and in the way he interprets 'I and the Father are one' in Ch. 12 and 'I am in the Father and the Father in me' in Ch. 16.

it is more than that. It is our author's intention to refute Apollinaris also. As he affirms in his later work *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* (written around 452-53),[213] Apollinaris was 'the inventor of great, greater and greatest' within the Trinity:

> For his [i.e. Apollinaris's] invention [εὕρεμα] is 'the Great, Greater and Greatest' [τὸ Μέγα, μεῖζον, μέγιστον]; thus the Spirit is Great, the Son is Greater and the Father is the Greatest. Now, what could be more ridiculous than this? For if there is one essence of the Trinity [εἰ γὰρ μίαν εἶναι τῆς Τριάδος τὴν οὐσίαν], which they say exists, how can [it] assume the same [essence] both smaller and greater [πῶς τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ σμικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην ὑπείληφεν]? (*PG* 83, 425C).

Thus, the returning exclamations and rhetorical questions concerning τὸ μεῖζον καὶ τὸ ἔλαττον in chapters 12, 13, 16, and 17 are directed not only against Arius, but against Apollinaris also. In Ch. 11 of *De Trinitate* the author continues:

> Thus, there is equality [ἰσότης] and by no means creature and Creator, but rather Father and Son. That is why [the Scripture] uses these names [τὰ ὀνόματα] so that from them we would learn the sameness [of their holders] [ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων μάθωμεν τὴν ταυτότητα]. For He says: 'no one knows the Son, but the Father; neither knows anyone the Father, except the Son.' The saying 'no one' denotes the creation [τὴν κτίσιν]. The exclusion of the creatures, however, points to the One remaining above the creatures, being naturally united with His Begetter [δείκνυσι τὸν μένοντα τῶν κτισμάτων ὑπέρτερον, τῷ δὲ γεννήσαντι φυσικῶς συνημμένον] (col. 1161C).

The fact that the Father-Son relationship of the Scripture is Theodoret's starting point to interpret most of the issues involved here is underlined by his ontological use of the idea of naming. As he says, we can learn the sameness of Father and Son from the ὀνόματα. The primary ontological connection between a father and his son is undoubtedly their sameness of essence and nature. Theodoret's unexpressed anti-Arian argument here is similar to the one of Hilary of Poitiers, i.e. that there is no point in calling the Father Father and the Son Son if we do not consider them having the same essence. Thus the Son for Arius is not truly the Son, since he [Arius] denies the sine qua non of the Son's being Son, namely that He shares the same οὐσία and φύσις with the Father.

In the last sentence of the passage, Theodoret comes to assert what we could label as being his Trinitarian understanding of a 'natural union'. He does not use the Cyrilline ἕνωσις φυσική in Christology, since he confesses two φύσεις within Christ. Nevertheless, he can clearly speak of a 'natural union' of the Father and the Son, since in the Trinity the πρόσωπα and the ὑποστάσεις are different, yet the divine φύσις is the same. Thus, the Son is τῷ γεννήσαντι φυσικῶς συνημμένος.

In the second part of this chapter, Theodoret asks the question concerning the manner of interpreting Scripture: εἰπάτωσαν οἱ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροί, πῶς χρὴ τὴν θείαν

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[213] Glenn Melvin Cope, 'An Analysis of the Heresiological Method of Theodoret of Cyrus in the *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Catholic University of America, Washington D. C., 1990), 45-53.

ἀναγινώσκειν Γραφήν, τῷ γράμματι στέργειν, ἢ τὴν ἔννοιαν ἐρευνᾶν; (col. 1161C). He gives here a 'véritable leçon d'exégèse doctrinale', as Guinot described it, by showing that even the literal sense of the text proves the absurdity of the heretic reasoning.[214] In doing this, our author again identifies ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστός with the Son of the Father, saying: περὶ μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστὸς εἰπών, ὅτι οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν Υἱὸν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ (col. 1161D). This passage, for example, would not fit into the scheme of the aforementioned Arian syllogism, since it cannot be claimed that the above assertion about the Son identified with the Master Christ is merely a predication κατὰ φύσιν.

Ch. 11 concludes with the affirmation that although both Father and Son are similarly unintelligible, yet they reveal the knowledge for the sight of faith. Theodoret sees our approach towards and understanding of the Father – including the entire θεογνωσία – exclusively through the Son, who for him is ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστός of the New Testament.

Equality of power

The Son's equality with the Father is extended to their δύναμις: 'Therefore, those whose knowledge is equal, have equal power also. And those who have equal power obviously have one essence as well' (col. 1164B). Theodoret continues:

> 'I and the Father are one.' Hence, if we follow again [the text] literally, we shall see that the Son is mentioned first [ὀψόμεθα τὸν Υἱὸν προτεταγμένον]. For He says 'I and the Father' and not 'the Father and I'. Thus He shows the two persons and proclaims the sameness of the nature. With the statement 'I and the Father' He indicated the number of personal entities, and with the addition '[we] are one' He evinced the invariability of the [same] power (col. 1164D).

The above exemplifies Theodoret's accurate usage of terms as well as his intention of finding proper synonyms. As he says, the Son δείξας τὴν τῶν προσώπων δυάδα, ἐκήρυξε τὴν τῆς φύσεως ταυτότητα. Thus, the Father and Son are two πρόσωπα, but they share the same φύσις. He then adduces that the Son τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἐσήμανε, i.e. He indicated the number of ὑποστάσεις. Here the terms πρόσωπον and ὑπόστασις are equated, which is consistent with Chalcedon's subsequent interpretation. The Son τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐδήλωσεν ἀπαράλλακτον. Thus, the δύναμις of Father and Son is common, being the common δύναμις of the divine φύσις or οὐσία. Theodoret also shows a proper way of using μία φύσις in θεολογία, i.e. expressing the one *nature* of the Trinity:

> Therefore those who have equal knowledge [γνῶσις], power [δύναμις] and will [βούλησις], obviously have one nature also [τούτων δηλονότι καὶ ἡ φύσις μία] (col. 1165A).

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[214] Jean-Noël Guinot, 'L'*Expositio* et le traité…', 55.

Ch. 13 reinforces the above by other biblical arguments. Both the servitude and the dominance are the Son's very own: because of their equality, the Father and the Son contain each other reciprocally and it is impossible for a creature to contain God.[215]

Equality of worship

The term προσκύνησις occurs several times in *De Trinitate*, and although it is comprised in a short chapter (14), the question of equal worship [ἰσοτιμία] due to the Father and to the Son represents an important issue for Theodoret. His main argument here is that both the Father and the Son draw those saved to each other. Thus, they deserve equal worship. This is a further argument against Trinitarian subordinationism[216] and can be traced back again to the Cappadocians. In his *Oratio* 42 Gregory Nazianzen writes, Δίδασκε προσκυνεῖν θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα, θεὸν τὸν Υἱόν, θεὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν, ἐν μιᾷ δόξῃ τε καὶ λαμπρότητι (*PG* 36, 477A).

Sameness of nature and of essence

Theodoret consecrates two long chapters (No. 15 and 16) and a shorter one (No. 17) in order to give adequate answers to these issues. Using various biblical examples of sending (Jacob to Mesopotamia, Joseph to find his brothers, Jonathan by David etc.), Theodoret shows that the Arian and Eunomian concept of the Father being the sender and the Son being the One sent does not mean that the Son is inferior to His Father in respect of nature. Further, Theodoret employs this biblical language concerning the sending of Christ in order to prepare his Christological exposé:

> If the sender is in Him and with Him [ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ], where is the inferiority [ἡ εὐτέλεια] of the one being sent? From where and to which place was sent the One who fills all? Hence, the word 'sending' [ἀποστολή] suggests a change of location. But if the Father and the Son fill all, then neither did the Father send the Son to those whom He apparently was away from, nor did the Son go from one specific place to another. Thus nothing remains, but that the sending [of the Son] is to be taken as referring to the assumed manhood (col. 1168D-1169A).

The beginning of the passage shows on one hand that the sending of the Son indeed does not make Him inferior to His Father. On the other hand, though, it is the question of the Word's divine omnipresence before and after His union with the assumed manhood,

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[215] This interesting argument points ahead to a late dispute between the Lutheran 'finitum capax infiniti' and the so-called *extra Calvinisticum*. In his study, *Der Ausgang der altkirchlichen Christologie* (1957), 52, W. Elert designates the axiom *finitum non capax infiniti* as being the essential mark of Antiochene Christology. Cf. Luise Abramowski, 'The Theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia' in *Formula and Context: Studies in Early Christian Thought* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), 1-36 (p. 34). See section *4.5.2 Communicatio idiomatum or communicatio onomaton?* in Ch. 4 of the present work.

[216] It is worth mentioning that the concept of equality of worship is a basic argument for Theodoret to show the sameness of the Father's and the Son's nature and essence in the subsequent chapters. The counterpart of this reasoning is the 'union of worship' of the one Christ. See section *4.5.5 The union of worship – the 'cultic prosopon'* in Ch. 4 of the present work.

which is also at stake here. Our author had already addressed this issue in Ch. 10 of the *Expositio*, where he had said about the Word having come down to us, yet without leaving heaven: ὁ Λόγος […] τῶν οὐρανῶν οὐκ ἀποστάς, πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατελήλυθεν (*PG* 6, 1224C).[217]

Theodoret's basic understanding of the difference between the infinite divine οὐσία and the finite and limited human οὐσία resounds both in the *Expositio* and in *De Trinitate*. According to him, the Son in His infinite divine οὐσία cannot be said to move place. He is everywhere in respect of His own divine essence. Nevertheless, His union with the manhood in the Incarnation is and must be a real one, otherwise we undoubtedly introduce two personal entities or subjects in the οἰκονομία. Theodoret solves the problem substantially in the same way in both works. In the *Expositio* he approaches it from the perspective of the Word's divine omnipresence, whereas in *De Trinitate* from the viewpoint of the finite character of the manhood. Both arguments work towards the same end: first, the Word does not have to leave heaven in order to unite with the manhood. Second, the manhood does not have to receive the property of omnipresence from the divine οὐσία of the Word in order to be in full union with the Λόγος. Theodoret does not make use here of *communicatio idiomatum* – as Luther will do in quite an original manner eleven centuries later – in order to uphold the union within the οἰκονομία. The assertion of Christ's fleshly omnipresence in the fifth century would have definitely meant an inadmissible κρᾶσις, an intermingling of the two natures, and would have been labelled as Apollinarianism even by the Alexandrian party. Theodoret therefore says that it must be ἡ ἀναληφθείση ἀνθρωπότης which is said to have been sent.[218]

Returning now to Theodoret's understanding of the connection between the Father and the Incarnate Word, in Ch. 15 of *De Trinitate* we find him applying the analogy of the image and archetype to the relationship between Jesus Christ and His heavenly Father. As he says: ἀποβλέψαντες τοίνυν τὴν εἰκόνα, νοήσωμεν τὸ ἀρχέτυπον (col. 1169A). This analogy again leads him to conclude:

> Thus the Father and the Son have one essence, which is recognised and confessed on the basis of the same image. Therefore while previously [we spoke about] two human beings, in a similar fashion here [we speak about] God and God, [about] Father and Son, and by the names themselves they already show the sameness of [their] nature [καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὀνόμασι δηλοῦντες τῆς φύσεως τὴν ταυτότητα]. For neither does the true God differ in nature from the true God, nor is the Son different from Him, being the Son of God (col. 1169B).

From the context of the passage – which, as Theodoret puts it, is ἡ ἑρμηνεία τῶν Δεσποτικῶν ῥημάτων – it seems that the μία εἰκών referred to in the first sentence is the image of Christ. This μία εἰκών is the basis for recognising and confessing the μία οὐσία of Father and Son. The ontological significance of ὄνομα comes again to play its part. The Bishop of Cyrus deduces the sameness of divine essence directly from the

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[217] Cf. Otto, *Iustini Opera*, 34.
[218] See section *4.5.2 Communicatio idiomatum or communicatio onomaton?* in Ch. 4 of this work.

names 'Father' and 'Son'. These names show the sameness of the divine φύσις literally 'by themselves'. Further, regarding the unity of Christ's person, Theodoret states that the εἰκών – in this case the human image of Jesus Christ – is the very image of God Himself.

This idea is carried forward through the entire chapter and the following one. Theodoret first affirms Nicaea's key expression:

> Behold again, how the coessentiality [τὸ ὁμοούσιον] is manifested! For He says: 'If you had known me, you would have known my Father also.' But [something] having one essence cannot be recognised through another one with a different essence. […] Hence, if the Only-begotten Word is God's creation belonging to the non-existent [creatures], and if concerning nature He was begotten by somebody else [rather than by God the Father], then with what kind of authenticity can He exhibit the Father in Himself? But if the Father is known through the Son, and he who knows the Son knows the Father also, then let all blasphemous tongues be bridled, and cleave to the roof of their mouth according to [the words of] the prophet.[219] We, however, the worshippers of the Trinity, hereby receive the accurate teaching of coessentiality, maintaining that the Father cannot be recognised in the Son in any other fashion, except if He shared the same essence (col. 1169CD).

We have already cited a part of the above passage earlier concerning Theodoret's understanding of the limits of human analogies in reference to the divine being (e.g. the eternal fatherhood) of God. Here the Bishop of Cyrus starts again from a biblical statement of Christ in order to advocate the Nicene ὁμοουσία of the Son with the Father. Being an heir of the Neo-Nicene tradition of the Cappadocians, Theodoret also uses the distinction between the one divine οὐσία and the three ὑποστάσεις. The defence of the Nicene key-expression against Arius is by no means a separate issue from the Incarnation, but a crucial part of our author's perception of Christ's very being. Theodoret does not remain on the more or less sterile ground of Trinitarian doctrine, but whilst applying the previous analogy of the image, he identifies the Person of the Son with the Person of Christ in the passage concerning Philip's question in John 14:6-11. One of Theodoret's favourite arguments is to quote the words of Christ Himself (labelled as Δεσποτικὰ ῥημάτα), who teaches the listeners about His own divinity, i.e. about His being the Son of God indeed. Theodoret uses the words of the Lord addressed to Philip as proof of His coessentiality with the Father, implying that the speaking Master is the Son of God incarnate. The following argument – in which the author comments on John 14:6-11 – points towards his fundamental understanding of Christ being the Word Himself:

> What can be clearer than these words? What can be more evident than this teaching? […] We, however, should listen to the Lord, who says: 'If you had known me, you would have known my Father also: henceforth you know Him, and have seen Him.' […] He was the eyewitness of the Father, as the Father was observable in Him. Philip did not understand this, and asked Him, saying: 'show us Your Father, and it suffices us.' And he was not praised, since he

[219] Psalm 137:6 (LXX: Psalm 136:6).

> craved to see 'the superior one' [μεῖζον ἰδεῖν ἐπιθυμήσας] in the manner of the heretics. He was reprehended instead, for failing to recognise the Father in the Son. 'Have I been so long time with you' He said, 'and yet you do not know me, Philip?' Hence, Philip craved to see the Father, not Him. Why was he reprehended then as if he had not recognised the Son? [Jesus] throws light upon the cause of the admonition in the following part [of His answer]: 'He who has seen me has seen my Father; how can you say then, "Show us the Father?"' For I am different, He says, [from the Father], regarding personhood, but not according to the nature [ἕτερός εἰμι, φησίν, κατὰ τὸ πρόσωπον, οὐ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν]. I bear the Father wholly within myself, since I am the unaltered seal of my Begetter, the express image of His person, [in a word] the natural portrait [εἰκὼν φυσική] coexisting with my Begetter (col. 1172C-1173A).

It is beyond doubt that the Incarnate Word, the Master Christ, is the One who speaks here, and He is the same Person said to have been τοῦ Πατρὸς θεατής, who bears his Father wholly within Himself, thus making Him observable, who is not inferior to the Father, but rather is the express image of His person, who is no different from the Only-begotten Son of God, but who is different from the Father κατὰ τὸ πρόσωπον, being at the same time identical to His Father κατὰ τὴν φύσιν. The terms πρόσωπον and φύσις in the statement ἕτερός εἰμι κατὰ τὸ πρόσωπον, οὐ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν cannot be interpreted otherwise than in their Trinitarian sense, i.e. the πρόσωπον denoting the ἰδιότης of the Son in relation to his Father (as a synonym for ὑπόστασις) and the φύσις being the common element of their sameness. It seems quite likely that the Κύριος, who teaches His disciples in John 14:6-11, is regarded here by the exegete to be none else ontologically than the πρόσωπον of the second Person of the Trinity. The amassing of epithets referring to the speaking Lord seems to emphasise the same thing: the Master Christ is σφραγὶς τοῦ γεννήσαντος ἀπαράλλακτος, He is the χαρακτὴρ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑποστάσεως, and most emphatically, He is the εἰκὼν φυσικὴ τῷ γεννήσαντι συνυπάρχουσα. Hence, a natural portrait or image of God the Father can be perceived only if it is the very human image of Christ. The entire admonition of Philip is based fully on this point: he is reprehended exactly because he failed to recognise the Father in the Son, i.e. in his Teacher and Master, the Word of God incarnate. That is why Theodoret puts the following words also into Christ's mouth:

> So if you want to see Him [ἐκεῖνον] [i.e. the Father], [just] look at me, and you will see [us] both [ἑκάτερον ὄψει], yet not with the eyes of the body, but with the eyes of faith. With the eyes of faith, however, you [will see] to such an extent that you would recognise the works [τὰς ἐνεργείας], but not the nature nor the essence [οὐ τὴν φύσιν, ἢ τὴν οὐσίαν]: for these things surpass the grasp of every mind (col. 1173A).

It seems very unlikely that the author of the above passages would accept any interpretation according to which the Incarnate Lord were different from the Only-begotten Son of God or were inferior to the Father Himself. This is perhaps the reason why Theodoret as a careful exegete follows vigilantly the Pauline teaching of 1 Corinthians 13:12 ('for now we see through a glass, darkly'), and suggests that the

seeing of Christ by His apostles was not yet the 'face to face' meeting with the divine essence, since that shall be revealed to humankind only at the end of the times. Nevertheless, the human image of the Son of God is sufficient for the believer to contemplate the works [τὰς ἐνεργείας] of God and to recognise Jesus Christ as being His Only-begotten through the eyes of faith. I can see no other way to interpret Theodoret's putting the statement γνῶναι τὰς ἐνεργείας, οὐ τὴν φύσιν, ἢ τὴν οὐσίαν into the mouth of the Lord. The believer is said to recognise the works but not the φύσις or the οὐσία, yet not because the nature and the essence are absent from Christ, but rather because these divine features surpass the grasp of the human νοῦς. Theodoret reinforces this by explaining Christ's words in John 14:10-11:

> Thus if these [works] are ascribed [φθέγγεται] to the Father, and the Father remains [μένει] in Him, as well as He in the Father; and if he who sees [ὁ ἑωρακώς] and knows [ὁ γινώσκων] Him, had seen and known the Father also, then it is evident for all having common sense, that the Father and the Son have one nature, and the Son is in possession of everything which belongs to the Father. For nobody else manifested the Father in Himself [but the Son], neither possessed everything – except fatherhood itself – like the Father. Hence, fatherhood is the Father's attribute [ἴδιον], as the sonship belongs to the Son (col. 1173AB).

Apart from its reinforcement of the previous observations, the last sentence of the passage gives us an idea of how Theodoret made the heritage of the Cappadocians an integral part of his theological thinking. According to Theodoret's masters the ἰδιότης of each divine Person is carried by the ὑπόστασις and not by the common divine οὐσία, thus fatherhood is the ἴδιον of the Father, the sonship is the ἴδιον of the Son. At the end of *De Trinitate* Theodoret asserts that concerning the Trinity we believe μίαν οὐσίαν ἐν τρισὶν ἰδιότησιν γνωριζομένην. It is by the ἰδιότης of each ὑπόστασις that the divine Person can be recognised and identified.

The equality of Father and Son (i.e. of Christ the incarnate Word) is proven in Ch. 17 by the use of the term 'glorification'. Theodoret refutes the heretical thought according to which the one who glorifies is greater than the glorified, saying at the end of a reductio ad absurdum, that both the Father and the Son are said to glorify and to be glorified. Thus, they have to be equal. The Son having been glorified by the Father does not receive anything in addition to what He had always possessed before all times. The imagery reminds us again of the Word's being ὁ ὤν. Theodoret points at the eternal ὑπόστασις of the Word within the Person of Christ:

> For the One who had been glorified did not receive what He did not possess [before], but what He had possessed [εἶχεν]. [The Lord] teaches this in the same place, saying [John 17:5]. Thus if He had had this glory before the world was made, how could He ask to receive something, which He always had? (col. 1173D)

If at any point within Theodoret's teaching on the Trinity a weighty importance was conferred on the identification of the eternal Word and Son of God with the Person of Jesus Christ, then these chapters concerning their sameness of essence and nature are

certainly among them. Their length and meticulous reasoning shows that this issue was by no means a peripheral question for the author. Moreover, the last chapter on the Son, concerned with the sameness of the divine dominion is based entirely on these previous arguments.

Sameness of dominion

To conclude the discussion concerning the equality of Father and Son, Theodoret asserts that their dominion has to be the same, since it belongs to the common οὐσία and φύσις. He resists the concept of Origen, who delimited the various areas of activity of the divine Persons, restricting by stages the dominion of Christ and of the Spirit in comparison with the Father. Commenting on John 17:10 Theodoret writes:

> He does not want to divide the common dominion [οὐ τὴν κοινὴν διαιρῶν δεσποτείαν]; neither does He want to show things different from the Father. But because those who have poured all blasphemous words upon [God's] Only-begotten are claiming that He merely accepts, and the Father is the one who gives, [the Lord] makes clear that He is retaining the same dominion with the Father over everything. 'All mine are thine and thine are mine' He says. He does not teach the division [οὐ τὴν διαίρεσιν] of the dominion but rather the commonness [τὸ κοινὸν] of the dominion [τῆς δεσποτείας] (col. 1176A).

Thus, ἡ δεσποτεία does not have three forms to suit the three divine hypostases. It does not belong to the category of the ἰδιότης of just one hypostasis, but it is rather the κοινόν of the divine essence. Therefore, Christ is in possession of all which is ontologically proper to the οὐσία of the Father, since He is ὁμοούσιος with Him.

3.3.2 Conclusion

It seems to result from the above that Theodoret's concept concerning the Person of the Son is primarily motivated by his dynamic view of the *genetic* Father-Son relationship within the Holy Trinity as it appears in Scripture. The Son's specific names and titles gain ontological importance and do not stand alone, but are a result of a relationship between the divine hypostases. In Theodoret's view it is undoubtedly the Son through whom the children of God recognise their heavenly Father and get an insight into the ἐνέργεια of the Trinity.

Although his notion of the divine οὐσία and φύσις is rooted in the principle of God's impassibility, in his biblical exegesis with the outlook towards the θεολογία Theodoret does not seem to find any difficulty in identifying the ὑπόστασις of the Son with the Person of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, certain issues remain, on which he will be able to make his point clear only from a Christological and soteriological perspective. This Trinitarian teaching on the Son bears some obvious marks of the author's intense theological struggle against Arianism and Apollinarianism. In his effort to resist these challenges, Theodoret normally appeals to biblical exegesis, by the help of which he tries to interpret the tradition he inherited. He also develops the terminology in order to

remove both the biblical and the theological basis of the heresies. His defence and explanation of the various titles and terms (e.g. Firstborn, ἦν) speaks of his firm intention not to surrender any terminological ground to the heterodox. Whatever is theologically and terminologically inherited from the doctors of piety concerning the Father's Only-begotten, must therefore be preserved within the θεία διδασκαλία of the Church, even if some of these are in need of further elaboration. It might even be said that Theodoret's teaching on the second ὑπόστασις of the Trinity – together with its internal tensions – serves as a proper basis for a forthcoming Christology and does not necessarily anticipate a harsh separation of two different subjects within the Word of God incarnate.

The declared intention of the author is to show 'from the evangelic teaching the dignity of the Only-begotten' [ἐκ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ Μονογενοῦς τὴν ἀξίαν] (col. 1176B). In doing this, he repeatedly quotes and interprets the words of ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστός, whom he regularly considers as being the Son Himself. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that there is a certain tension within this dynamic doctrine based largely on Scripture. Theodoret himself faces the difficulty in trying to bring close to the believer a divine mystery of e.g. eternal begetting whilst knowing that human analogies are imperfect, the interpretations of the heretics are misleading and the tradition is in need of further development. He is bound to have a tension within the corpus of his exposé. Some of the results of this tension will be inevitably carried over into the doctrine of the οἰκονομία, where even more disturbing issues wait for a settlement. Without anticipating those, from this end it seems acceptable that within the Trinitarian framework the Bishop of Cyrus presented a dynamic view of the Word's being – with all the internal tensions this presentation might take – in opposition to a static picture of an immanent and distant ὑπόστασις, who is part of an incomprehensible divine οὐσία.

3.4 The teaching about God the Holy Spirit

Theodoret's doctrine on the Spirit contained in Chapters 19-27 is no less interesting than his teaching on the Son. He has already said on a few occasions that the Spirit takes active part in the life and instruction of the believers:

- The disciples can change the wild olive-tree into a cultivated one by the art of the Spirit (Ch. 1);
- the universal teaching of the Spirit is the pattern of the divine instruction (Ch. 2);
- The Spirit instructed those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and servants of the Word in the theology concerning the Only-begotten (Ch. 6).

These statements reveal the importance of the Spirit for Theodoret. The entire mission, tradition and theology itself (including the orthodox teaching) ultimately depends on the being and work of the Holy Spirit, about whom the author states:

> Therefore, as I have said, we believe in God the Father who is without beginning, and in God the Son who is by nature co-eternal with Him, who had been begotten by the Father, and is eternally together with the Father. […] And we believe in the pure, the guiding, the good and the comforting Holy

> Spirit, who comes from God; He was not begotten, because there is one Only-begotten; He was neither created [οὐδὲ μὴν κτισθέν], since we find Him nowhere in the Holy Scripture being enumerated along with the creation, but rather ranked together with the Father and the Son. We have heard that He proceeds [ἐκπορευόμενον] from the Father, yet we do not inquire the mode of His procession [οὐ πολυπραγμονοῦμεν πῶς ἐκπορεύεται], but rather acquiesce in the limits the theologians and blessed men have fixed for us (col. 1176C).

After having summarised the most important attributes of the Father and the Son, Theodoret gives his formula concerning the Holy Spirit. He is first confessed to be 'coming from God' [τὸ ἐκ θεοῦ προελθόν]. The second part of the chapter, however, makes it clear that this coming is to be taken as a procession from the Father [ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός]. The Bishop of Cyrus logically excludes a second begetting as a possible origin of the Spirit, saying that He is οὐ γεννηθέν· εἷς γὰρ Μονογενής, underlining that the title Only-begotten belongs to the Son only.

The difference between the way Theodoret shows the divinity of the Son and of the Spirit is rather interesting. In the case of the Son he affirmed His divine co-eternity with and timeless begetting by His Father. In respect of the Spirit, however, our author seems to have reversed the process. After having mentioned His procession from God, he denies the Spirit's being created on the basis of His not having been enumerated [συναριθμούμενον] in Scripture along with the creation [τῇ κτίσει], but rather being ranked together [συνταττόμενον] with the Father and the Son. This is how the chapters devoted to Theodoret's pneumatology are constructed.

3.4.1 The Spirit's specific attribute in relation to the Father and to the Son

Each of the three divine hypostases has His own ἰδιότης: the Father is ἀγέννητος, the Son is ἀπαθῶς γεννηθείς, moreover Μονογενής. Thus, the Spirit can neither be γεννητόν nor κτισθέν, but rather is ἐκ θεοῦ προελθόν, more specifically ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον. The determination of this specific ἰδιότης of the Spirit points back to the Cappadocians, more specifically to Gregory Nazianzen, whom – following the observations of Karl Holl – we can consider as being Theodoret's primary teacher in respect of the Spirit's procession.[220] The Bishop of Cyrus faithfully followed not only his terminology, but also Gregory's prevailing pacifism regarding the investigation of the inaccessible.

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[220] Concerning the differences between Basil's and Gregory Nazianzen's concept of the Spirit's origin, Holl writes: 'Worin bestand nun aber eigentlich die Differenz zwischen Gregor und Basilius hinsichtlich des Dogmas vom heiligen Geist? […] Sie differierten, um mit Basilius zu reden, über den τρόπος τῆς ὑπάρξεως des Geistes. Gregor fand ein παρρησιάζεσται τὴν ἀλήθειαν erst da, wo auch über die Art der Entstehung des Geistes eine bestimmte dogmatische Aussage gemacht wurde. Er begriff nicht, wie man da zögern konnte. Denn ihm schien Joh. 15:26 dafür eine genügende Grundlage zu bieten. Auf dieses Wort hat er sich ausdrücklich berufen. […] Aus dem Stichwort in Joh. 15:26 formte Gregor eine Bezeichnung für die ἰδιότης des Geistes. In der ἐκπόρευσις fand er die Paralelle zur γέννησις, und für ihn erhielt erst mit der Einsetzung dieses Punktes das Bekenntnis zur Homousie des Geistes seinen sichern Rückhalt.' Karl Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1904), 160-61.

The ἰδιότης of the Spirit establishes His partaking of the divine essence, but also delimits His place within the Trinity. Theodoret argues that these different titles resulting from the dynamic relationship between the three ὑποστάσεις do not presuppose or create any kind of subordination within God's οὐσία, but that all three remain ranked as equals.

In Ch. 9 of Theodoret's *Expositio* we find a similarly concise summary of the Son's and the Spirit's origin, where Theodoret extends the Nicene φῶς ἐκ φωτός onto the procession of the Spirit also:

> Τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ γνῶσιν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κατέχωμεν, ὅτι, ὥσπερ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός, οὕτως καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα· πλήν γε δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ὑπάρξεως διοίσει. Ὁ μὲν γάρ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, γεννητῶς ἐξέλαμψεν, τὸ δέ, φῶς μὲν ἐκ φωτὸς καὶ αὐτό, οὐ μὴν γεννητῶς ἀλλ᾽ ἐκπορευτῶς προῆλθεν· οὕτως συναΐδιον Πατρί, οὕτως τὴν οὐσίαν ταὐτόν, οὕτως ἀπαθῶς ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπορευθέν. Οὕτως ἐν τῇ Τριάδι τὴν μονάδα νοοῦμεν, καὶ ἐν τῇ μονάδι τὴν Τριάδα γνωρίζωμεν (*PG* 6, 1224A – cf. Otto, *Iustini Opera*, 32).

The problem of the *Filioque*

Theodoret started the third part of his teaching also with πιστεύομεν. The traditional formula suggests that this should not be taken as a personal opinion. It is rather the confession of all Christendom concerning the eternal being of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, Theodoret is aware of the dispute between the East and the West concerning the issue of *Filioque*. This argument caused internal tensions also within the Eastern Church between those more sympathetic towards the Western position and those clinging to the letter of the *Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum*. This is why – together with the acceptance of the original version[221] – Theodoret attempts to mediate between the two positions. He proposes the abandonment of an investigation concerning the mode of the Spirit's procession together with the humble acceptance of the ὅροις set out by the theologians of the past.[222] As we have quoted,

> ἐκπορευόμενον δὲ αὐτὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἠκούσαμεν, καὶ οὐ πολυπραγμονοῦμεν πῶς ἐκπορεύεται, ἀλλὰ στέργομεν τοῖς τεθεῖσιν ἡμῖν ὅροις ὑπὸ τῶν θεολόγων καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν.

Theodoret seems to have taken seriously the uselessness of such πολυπραγμονεῖν throughout both treatises. At the end of Ch. 23 of *De Trinitate*, whilst commenting 1 Corinthians 2:12-16, he approaches the mystery of the Spirit's procession in a similarly humble manner:

> 'That is why he [Paul] says that the Spirit is of God, teaching that He receives His existence from the Father, and shares His nature, although not by begetting, but in a mode that is known only to the Son-knowing [Father], the

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[221] Hahn mentions that the Cod. Sangall also adds καὶ Υἱοῦ. Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 165, note 23.

[222] The term ὅρος was already used in a somewhat similar sense in Ch. 2 (col. 1149C). He suggests a reconciliation based on the ὅρος of the traditional formula.

> Father-knowing [Son] and to [the Holy Spirit] who knows both the Father and the Son. For we have learned that [the Spirit] is of God, but we were not instructed about the mode [τρόπον] [of His procession]. Hence, we shall be satisfied with the measure of knowledge [μέτροις τῆς γνῶσεως] we were bestowed with, and do not investigate unmindfully the incomprehensible [τὰ ἀνέφικτα] (col. 1181AB).

Is it possible to determine more precisely what Theodoret meant by ὅροις and μέτροις and whom did he consider being among τῶν θεολόγων καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν? This passage of Gregory Nazianzen seems to provide us the answer:

> Οὐ πολυπραγμονεῖς τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, εἴτε γέννησιν χρὴ λέγειν, εἴτε ὑπόστασιν, εἴτε τι ἄλλο κυριώτερον τούτων ἐπινοεῖ […] μηδὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος περιεργάζου τὴν πρόοδον. […] Ἀκούεις γέννησιν; Τὸ πῶς μὴ περιεργάζου. Ἀκούεις ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα προϊὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός; Τὸ ὅπως μὴ πολυπραγμόνει. Εἰ δὲ πολυπραγμονεῖς Υἱοῦ γέννησιν, καὶ Πνεύματος πρόοδον, κἀγώ σου πολυπραγμονῶ τὸ κρᾶμα ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος (*Oratio* 20 in *PG* 35, 1077AC).

Theodoret preserves this attitude in both treatises. In fact, he returns briefly to the issue of *Filioque* at the end of the second treatise, in one sentence. In Ch. 34 of *De incarnatione*, which is the closure of *De Trinitate*, Theodoret repeats the admonition of his Cappadocian forerunner:

> Let us give up investigating erroneously the procession of the Holy Spirit and trying to find out [something], which is known to the Father, to the Son and to the Spirit only (col. 1476C).

The reconciliatory tone of these two works concerning the *Filioque* is peculiarly remarkable because in the months preceding their composition Theodoret had crossed swords with Cyril over the mode of the Spirit's procession. In his refutation of Cyril's ninth anathema, Theodoret wrote:

> We say that it was not God the Word, co-essential and co-eternal [ὁμοούσιον καὶ συναίδιον] with the Spirit, who was formed by the Holy Spirit and anointed, but the human nature which was assumed by Him at the end of days. We shall confess together [with Cyril?] that the Spirit of the Son was His own if he spoke of [the Spirit] as of the same nature [ὡς ὁμοφυές] and proceeding from the Father [καὶ ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον], and shall receive the expression as pious. But if [he would speak of the Spirit] as being of the Son, or as having [His[223]] origin through the Son [εἰ δὲ ὡς ἐξ Υἱοῦ ἢ δι᾽ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον] we shall reject this as blasphemous and impious. For we believe the Lord when He says, 'The Spirit which proceeds from the Father' and likewise the most godly Paul saying, 'We have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God' (*ACO*, I, 1, 6, 134).

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[223] Theodoret always refers to the Spirit as to a divine person. In order to avoid any confusion concerning the problem of 'who' and 'what', I translate all his references to the Spirit with masculine, although in the Greek text we encounter the appropriate neuter form.

Some analysts of the short dispute over the Spirit's procession between Cyril and Theodoret came near to the conclusion that whilst the former might be considered as an early Filioquist, the latter is rather the precursor of Photius and the monopatrists. It is not my task to settle this issue within the limits of the present work. Nevertheless, I adhere to the relevant conclusions of André de Halleux.[224]

Returning to Theodoret's dispute over the Spirit with his illustrious opponent we can mention that in his *Letter* 151 *to the Eastern monks* the Bishop of Cyrus summarised his critique of Cyril's anathemas, including the ninth one:

> Βλασφημεῖ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτὸ λέγων ἐκπορεύεσθαι, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου φωνήν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῶν ᾽Απολιναρίου σπερμάτων ὁ καρπός· γειτνιάζει δὲ καὶ τῇ Μακεδονίου πονηρᾷ γεωργίᾳ (*SC* 429, 102).[225]

Without entering the details of this largely debated issue, it is probably worth observing that Theodoret's reference to the alleged 'Apollinarian seed' was not entirely groundless. In his ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις, Apollinaris wrote:

> ὁμολογούμεν […] τοῦ τε πνεύματος ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς δι᾽ Υἱοῦ αἰδίως ἐκπεμφθέντος, ἁγιαστικοῦ τῆς ὅλης κτίσεως. […] τέλειον δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ θεοῦ δι᾽ Υἱοῦ χορηγούμενον εἰς τοὺς υἱοθετουμένους.[226]

The charge of Cyril approaching Macedonianism – as de Halleux observes – is probably an allusion towards the ninth anathema's supposed negation of the coessential divinity of the Spirit, i.e. His ranking alongside with the creatures brought into being by the Word of God.[227] It was of course not so, since neither of the two theologians denied the divinity of

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[224] André de Halleux, 'Cyrille, Théodoret et le *Filioque*', *RHE*, 74 (1979), 597-625. Among those having contributed substantially towards the debate, de Halleux mentions: S. Boulgakov, *Utešitel'* (Paris: 1936), 108; M. Jugie, *De processione Spiritus Sancti ex fontibus revelationis et secundum Orientales dissidentes*, Lateranum (Rome: 1936), n.s., II, 132, 168-72, 282; H. du Manoir, 'Dogme et spiritualité chez S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie', *Études de théologie et d'histoire de la spiritualité*, 2 (1944), 224-25; J. Meyendorff, 'La procession du Saint-Esprit chez les Pères orientaux', *Russie et chrétienté*, 2 (1950), 164-65; A. Seider, 'Allgemeine Einleitung zu Theodoret von Cyrus', *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter* (Munich: 1926), vol. 50, p. 83; P.N. Trembelas, *Dogmatique de l'Église Orthodoxe Catholique* (Chevetogne: 1966), 334. See also George C. Berthold, 'Cyril of Alexandria and the *Filioque*', *SP*, 19 (1989), 143-47.

[225] It is interesting to mention that in *HE* Theodoret quotes the anathemas of the *Confession of Pope Damasus* (written in fact by Ambrose – *CPL* 1633) in a Greek translation. Its beginning may have also influenced Theodoret's view on the whole question of the *Filioque*: ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδον αὖτη ἡ πλάνη ἀνέκυψεν, ὥστε τολμᾶν τινας βεβήλῳ στόματι εἰπεῖν, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον γεγενῆσθαι διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀναθεματίζομεν τοὺς μὴ μετὰ πάσης ἐλευθερίας κηρύττοντας σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ τῆς μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας τε καὶ ἐξουσίας ὑπάρχειν τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα (*GCS* 44, 297-98; cf. Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 272). It seems that the suspicion of the Spirit being 'created' if confessed as proceeding 'through the Son' was an issue well before Theodoret's time, who quotes *Anathema* 18 also: εἴ τις εἴπῃ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ποίημα ἢ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω (*HE* in *GCS* 44, 301; cf. Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 274).

[226] Hans Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1904), 180-81. The Spirit's procession from God through the Son is upheld by Gregory Thaumatourgos, probably the second authority for Cyril after Athanasius. In his confession Gregory writes: καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐκ θεοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον καὶ δι᾽ Υἱοῦ πεφηνὸς (δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις), εἰκὼν τοῦ Υἱοῦ etc. (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 254).

[227] André de Halleux, 'Cyrille, Théodoret et le *Filioque*', 622.

the Spirit. The Christological consideration played the crucial part for both of them. De Halleux gave the correct answer to the dilemma:

> La conclusion paraît donc s'imposer: lorsque l'évêque de Cyr objecte au neuvième anathématisme: 'l'Esprit procède du Père, il ne tient pas son existence du Fils, ou par le Fils', il veut simplement affirmer: 'L'Esprit procède de Dieu, il n'est pas créé'. En d'autres termes, le refus théodoritien de dire l'Esprit-Saint ἐκ Υἱοῦ ἢ δι᾽ Υἱοῦ ne doit pas être interprété comme un rejet des deux formulations filioquistes classiques de la procession intra-divine de la troisième Personne. Il s'agit plutôt d'une double dénégation de l'origine créée de l'Esprit.[228]

Finally, after having read Cyril's *Laetentur caeli*, Theodoret writes in his *Epistle* 171 *to John of Antioch*[229] that he is satisfied with the new theological position taken by the Alexandrian bishop. Among other important issues, he expresses his joy upon Cyril having confessed καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐκ ἐξ Υἱοῦ ἢ δι᾽ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ἴδιον δὲ Υἱοῦ ὡς ὁμοούσιον ὀνομαζόμενον (*SC* 429, 234).

In his *Laetentur caeli* addressed to John of Antioch Cyril indeed seems to have drawn back a little from his former viewpoint represented in the ninth anathema, although probably not to the extent to which Theodoret's aforementioned letter would imply. Cyril wrote to John: Οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοὶ οἱ λαλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, ὃ ἐκπορεύεται μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἔστιν δὲ οὐκ ἀλλότριον τοῦ Υἱοῦ κατὰ τὸν τῆς οὐσίας λόγον (*ACO* I, 1, 4, 19).

Was indeed Theodoret a reluctant *monopatrist* in opposition to Cyril's early *Filioquism*? Some would probably agree to this. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that all the statements of both theologians about the Holy Spirit resulted from their Christological picture and cannot be assessed by themselves. For Cyril, the Spirit being Christ's very own is a result of his identification of the ὑπόστασις of the Word with the person of the Saviour. Thus, the Spirit coming from the Father through the Son is in fact Cyril's way of saying that the three hypostases are of the selfsame essence. On his part, Theodoret fully agreed with this, yet what he feared and wanted to evade was probably the Macedonian danger – which of course was not by a long chalk Cyril's case – namely, that the procession of the Spirit through the Son in the sense of ἐξ Υἱοῦ ἢ δι᾽ Υἱοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον might be interpreted as the Spirit's being created by the Word. That is probably one of the reasons why in *De Trinitate* Theodoret spends a considerable time to

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[228] Halleux, 'Cyrille, Théodoret et le *Filioque*', 623.

[229] According to Sellers, Theodoret's letter was probably written after the peace of 433 between Cyril and John of Antioch, upon Theodoret having read not Cyril's *Letter* 33 *to Acacius of Beroea*, but rather his *Laetentur caeli* (*PG* 77, 173-81; cf. *ACO* I, 1, 4, 15-20), written – according to de Halleux – on the 23rd of April 433. Having examined the latter epistle, the Bishop of Cyrus was convinced that his former opponent did not hold the extreme views of his *Anathemas* anymore, including the issue concerning the origin of the Holy Spirit. Following de Halleux's calculations concerning the date of the provincial synod held at Zeugma with the participation of Theodoret, Andrew of Samosata, John of Germaniceia and others, Azéma concludes that Theodoret wrote his letter to John in the spring of 433. See Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon*, 21, note 5. Cf. André de Halleux, 'Cyrille, Théodoret et le *Filioque*', 604-8 and *SC* 429, 232, note 1.

prove the Spirit's uncreated being as well as His ὁμοούσια with the Father and the Son, with the emphasis upon ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔχει ὕπαρξιν. This was an entirely groundless concern, moreover, it is very likely that from a pneumatological perspective both theologians were trying to evince the same thing (the Spirit's full divinity), but approached it from two different angles predetermined by their own Christological standpoint.

I think that the proper answer to the problem of Cyril's and Theodoret's possible influence upon the much later evolving controversy around the *Filioque* was again given by André de Halleux at the end of his aforementioned article:

> Il n'est certes pas interdit de s'interroger sur la position que chacun des deux adversaires aurait prise dans le grand schisme sur la procession de l'Esprit-Saint, qui éclata plus de quatre siècles après leur mort. On peut tenter d'extrapoler cet hypothétique engagement à partir des principes de leur triadologie, à la condition de respecter la différence des contextes historiques et le progrès de la réflexion théologique. Mais il y aura toujours une bonne part d'appréciation subjective dans la spéculation sur ce genre de conditionnels passés. De toute façon, on ne saurait, sur la base de la controverse qui opposa Théodoret à Cyrille, prétendre qu'ils furent, respectivement, monopatriste et filioquiste au sens étroit que la polémique photienne et scolastique devait conférer à ces étiquettes. L'opposition des deux Pères en matière de pneumatologie se situe encore foncièrement au plan des christologies rivales: l'alexandrine, d'union ou d'immanence, pour laquelle le Verbe incarné communique à la nature humaine son Esprit de filiation divine; l'antiochenne, de distinction ou de transcendance, pour laquelle l'humanité assumée du second Adam reçoit, la première, les dons du très saint Esprit qui l'élèveront à la condition de ressuscité, par la victoire sur le péché. La conciliation de ces deux approches de la pneumatologie christologique du Nouveau Testament a-t-elle perdu de son intérêt depuis les quinze siècles et demi qui nous séparent du concile d'Éphèse?[230]

It seems therefore an admissible conclusion that at least for the time of the composition of *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione* Theodoret had put behind him the bitter controversy around Cyril's ninth anathema. He does not mount any direct or indirect attack upon his opponent although the storm is far from being over. This seems to meet the description of these two treatises as being a positive attempt towards solving the up-to-date problems with the author's intention to give up the polemic of the day for the sake of edifying the readers. The returning irenical prospect confers a distinctive place for these two works of the Bishop of Cyrus in the midst of the tempest surrounding the third ecumenical council.

3.4.2 Other titles and properties of the Holy Spirit

In Ch. 20 of *De Trinitate* Theodoret invokes the words 'of our Saviour, Jesus Christ', who teaches that the Holy Spirit completes the Trinity by quoting Matthew 28:19. This

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[230] André de Halleux, 'Cyrille, Théodoret et le *Filioque*', 625.

also means that the Spirit is ranked above all creatures. His dominion [δεσποτεία] includes the works of the Spirit, who bestows on us the gift of sonship and sets us free. Speaking about the Spirit's own dominion Theodoret concludes, that 'if one sets others free, He cannot be a slave [Himself]', but rather He is a free Master, who donates freedom to those He wants to. According to Ch. 21 the Spirit is κοινωνὸν τῆς δεσποτείας, pointing back to a previous argument, i.e. that the dominion is not the exclusive property of one divine ὑπόστασις, but it belongs to the common οὐσία and φύσις of the whole Trinity.

The Spirit as Creator

The short Ch. 22 argues that the Spirit is δημιουργόν but not ὑπουργικόν. Thus, the Spirit took active part in the Creation together with the Father and the Son, but not as an 'underworker'. Theodoret even says that the Spirit τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσίαν ἔχει Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, advancing the terminology of Nicaea, because – together with the Son – he considers also the Spirit as being coessential with the Father.

It is notable that Theodoret interprets the first person plural from Genesis 1:26 as referring to the Trinity. This has some traditional foundation, since the symbol of faith drawn up at an Antiochene council directed against Paul of Samosata includes:

> Ὃν οὐκ ἄλλον πεπείσμεθα, ἢ τὸν μονογενῆ Υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θεόν, ᾧ καὶ εἶπε· ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ᾽ εἰκόνα καὶ καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν (Hahn, *Bibliothek,* 179).

Further, one could even say that the previous tradition did not merely allow Theodoret to interpret the above passage as referring to the Trinity, but rather that it prescribed this for him. The direct Trinitarian or Christological interpretation of some relevant Old Testament passages was in fact made compulsory by the first council of Sirmium in 351. The fourteenth anathema issued by this council asserts:

> Εἴ τις τό· ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον μὴ τὸν Πατέρα πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν λέγειν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λέγοι τὸν θεὸν εἰρηκέναι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω (Hahn, *Bibliothek,* 198).

Other anathemas of Sirmium require the exegete to acknowledge that the Son and not the unbegotten God appeared to Abraham (Anathema 15) and that Jacob fought with the Son as with a human being (Anathema 16). The radical demand for a Trinitarian interpretation of the Old Testament suggests that there must have been quite a strong exegetical practice and tradition (interwoven perhaps with an anti-Arian and anti-Jewish polemic), which preceded the formulation of these anathemas.

Theodoret in some sense is partaker of this tradition: for him the Son being ὁ ὤν is a matter of course. Nevertheless, he does not agree with Sirmium in a number of matters, since e.g. he refuses to apply the title ὑπουργικόν even to the Spirit when talking about

the act of Creation, whilst the 27th anathema of Sirmium labels the Son Himself ὑπουργηκός τῷ Πατρὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργίαν.[231]

Based on a similar analogy of the εἰκών after which humankind was created, Theodoret concludes: ὧν δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν μία, τούτων δηλονότι καὶ ἡ οὐσία μία (col. 1177D). The idea of the Spirit's coessentiality with the Father and the Son will return again in Ch. 24.

The Holy Spirit as God of God

Four somewhat longer chapters (23 to 26) focus almost entirely upon the aspect of the Holy Spirit being truly very God of very God. The various biblical arguments lead our author to extend his affirmation concerning the reciprocal knowledge of the Father and the Son to the Spirit also:

> As nobody knows the Father except the Son, and nobody [knows the Son] but the Father, in the same fashion, as [Scripture] says, nobody knows the things of God except the Spirit of God. Nevertheless, from the things said we are taught the commonness of the nature [of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit] (col. 1180C).

The affirmation κοινὸν τῆς φύσεως is the basis for a true equality between the ὑποστάσεις. At the end of Ch. 23 Theodoret warns against any Arian and Eunomian identification of God Himself with the Spirit of God and argues that the Spirit is different from the other two ὑποστάσεις. As mentioned in connection with the *Filioque*, the Spirit receives His existence from the Father [ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔχει ὕπαρξιν], yet the mode of His procession should not be investigated.

Another proof of the Spirit's divinity is His grace through baptism, by which the believers are called the temples of God. In Ch. 24 we find another example suggesting the ontological importance of 'naming' for the Bishop of Cyrus:

> Therefore, if the believers receive the grace of the *Spirit* [τὴν χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος] through baptism, and we – being honoured by this gift – are *called* the temple of *God* [ναὸς θεοῦ χρηματίζομεν], it follows that the Holy Spirit is God indeed. *That is why the indwelling of God is effected upon the receiving temples*;[232] yet, if those who benefit from the grace of the Spirit are the temples of God and are *called* so [καλοῦνται], it is clear that the Holy Spirit is of divine nature and is coessential both with the Father and the Son [καὶ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ ὁμοούσιον]. Hence, if [the Spirit were] a creature [κτίσμα] and of a different essence, it would be unjust to *call* [προσαγορευθεῖεν] God's temples those who received His gifts. Yet, if those who received the grace of the Spirit in a greater or smaller measure are indeed *called* [ὀνομάζονται] temples of God, *from this appellation* we shall

[231] Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 199.
[232] Corrected on the basis of Vat. gr. 841.

> conclude that [the Holy Spirit] is akin [to the Father and the Son] (col. 1181CD).

The various expressions used in order to describe the act of naming converge towards the same end: the biblical title or name refers to its bearer in the closest ontological sense. The sharpest example of this conviction is comprised in the categorical statement: ἐκ τῆς προσηγορίας νοήσομεν τὴν συγγένειαν, i.e. Theodoret deduces again the sameness of divine essence *directly* from the biblical appellation. Moreover, the principle works also the other way around: if the Spirit is God's κτίσμα, and ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας τυγχάνει than the Father, then it is not fair [οὐκ εἰκότως] to *call* [προσαγορευθεῖεν] God's temples those, who received the gifts of the Spirit. This is how the exegete controls the dogmatician: the biblical text dictates not only the usage of terms, but it defines their mode of applicability also. Gregory Nazianzen in his determination of the term ἐκπόρευσις acted in the same manner. Having found the term in John 15:26 he made it the key-expression to describe the ἰδιότης of the third ὑπόστασις, without having the smallest concern of whether it expressed or not the appartenence of the Spirit to the divine essence. It was a biblical title, which had to suffice. As Holl justly affirms, Gregory did not understand how one could hesitate at that point.[233]

Theodoret seems to have followed the above method in his usage of biblical titles and naming also. As we shall see, expressions like προσηγορία, ὄνομα will have an important ontological role to play in Theodoret's Christology, since by the means of naming he in fact identifies a person, a πρόσωπον or a ὑπόστασις or even two φύσεις within one πρόσωπον in a given context. Several Christological issues have to be addressed and understood from this angle, which will be dealt with in some detail in Chapter 4 of the current work.

Theodoret brings forward two biblical arguments in support of the Spirit's divine οὐσία. The first is the story of Ananias, who was reprehended for trying to deceive the Holy Spirit. The second one deals with the return of Paul and Barnabas to Antioch where they recount the great things God had done with them, hence in fact it was the Spirit who did it all. The method and the conclusion is the same as before:

> Thus, if the *Holy Spirit* had effected these through the apostles according to His will, but nevertheless, Paul and Barnabas told the congregation gathered around them that *God* had done great things with them, it follows, that the Holy Spirit is God, according to the words of the apostles (col. 1184D).

In the same Ch. 26 of *De Trinitate* there is an exclamation, where θεολογία appears again as a technical term: ὁρᾶτε [...] τὴν θεολογίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος, i.e. behold 'the theology of the Spirit', or 'the naming of the Spirit God'. Here θεολογία quite probably means again the discipline concerned with God's being and the Trinity. The exclamation in fact introduces another argument based on 1 Corinthians 14:23-25, the outcome of which is again the conclusion that the naming of the Spirit 'God' or even the naming of His gifts as being God's undoubtedly proves His divinity. The κοινωνία τῆς φύσεως

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[233] 'Er begriff nicht, wie man da zögern konnte.' See Holl, *Amphilochius*, 161.

brings the three Persons of the Trinity into ontological togetherness, since all of them approve or take active part in each other's actions:

> He [Paul] teaches that the Holy Spirit is God, and that it is the same to say 'God' or 'Spirit' through the commonness of the nature [διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς φύσεως]. For the Son and the Spirit participate [συνεργεῖ] in the things effected by God the Father, whereas the God and Father simultaneously approves [συνευδοκεῖ] those accomplished by the Son and the Spirit (col. 1185C).

This is in fact what Theodoret had already said in Ch. 5 concerning the Father and the Son, declaring that they were 'inseparable [ἀχωρίστως] from each other according to their names as well as to their realities [τὰ τε ὀνόματα, καὶ τὰ πράγματα]'. The common οὐσία is the guarantee of the harmonised activity of the three ὑποστάσεις. In this way, the particular ἰδιότης of either Person does not disturb by any means the imperturbable internal accord of God's divine being.

The Holy Spirit is uncreated and eternal

> The One proclaimed to be of God is not a creature, but of the divine essence. That is why the blessed Paul calls Him eternal and existent without beginning: 'For if the blood of bulls and of goats and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifies to perfection, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who offered Himself through the Holy Spirit [διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου]?' Thus, if the Holy Spirit is eternal and God is eternal also, the conclusion is evident (col. 1188AB).

At the end of his exposé on the Spirit, Theodoret returns to asseverate that the very οὐσία and φύσις of the divine Spirit cannot rank Him with the creatures, nor can He be subject to time. In the above biblical passage quoted from Hebrews 9:13-14 we find two notable textual differences. Instead of πρὸς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς καθαρότητα Theodoret says πρὸς τελειότητα, and instead of διὰ Πνεύματος αἰωνίου he asserts διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου (see Mai's note also). The latter alteration is probably a result of a copying error (although there are some NT text variants, which preserved this version), since the reason why Theodoret in fact quoted this text was to prove the eternity of the Spirit. This is evinced by the chapter title as well as by the sentence after the quotation. The title of this Ch. 27 underlines the significance of 'naming': ὅτι ἀκτίστως ἐκ θεοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, διὸ καὶ αἰώνιον καλεῖται. From the affirmation of the chapter title, it directly follows that whatever expression is linked with καλεῖται, it is ontologically relevant for the condition of the One, about whom it is asserted. In his Trinitarian teaching Theodoret gives a few hints concerning the relevance of this issue for his own understanding, nevertheless its deeper meaning will become evident only in the Christological part of his treatise.

3.4.3 Conclusion

Theodoret's teaching on the Spirit is in concordance with the Nicene faith, moreover with the assertion of His being Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ ὁμοούσιον the Bishop of Cyrus in fact develops this terminological inadequacy of the formula. His understanding of the Spirit's procession does not lead him to determine authoritatively whether one should or should not speak at all about the *Filioque*. He rather pursues an irenical line, putting behind him the bitterness of the Nestorian controversy, and tries to solve the problem in the manner he had learned from Gregory Nazianzen. His suggestion to the reader is to accept that the mode of the Spirit's procession is known to God only. He is insistent about the sameness of the divine οὐσία and upon the distinct and not servile ὑπόστασις of the Spirit in relation to the other two Persons within the Trinity. The role of the Spirit within the life of the church is also taken seriously, since the Spirit Himself is the One who in fact teaches true theology for the believers.

3.5 Theodoret's doctrine on the Trinity – summary

From the last Ch. 28 of *De Trinitate* entitled ᾽Ανακεφαλαίωσις τῆς πίστεως, as well as from the entire tract, it becomes evident that for Theodoret the Holy Trinity is μία οὐσία, μία φύσις ἐν τρισὶν ἰδιότησιν καὶ ὑποστάσεσιν. His interpretation of the terms οὐσία and ὑπόστασις is Neo-Nicene, i.e. he assumed the distinctions effected by the Cappadocian Fathers into his own theological thinking. Thus, for him οὐσία and φύσις denote synonymous concepts, whereas ὑπόστασις begins to receive the meaning of 'individual entity'. On one hand, it is the ὑπόστασις and not the οὐσία or the φύσις in which the Bishop of Cyrus recognises the ἰδιότης of each divine Person. On the other hand, the essence or nature is the common factor within all the three divine hypostases, representing the very basis of the indivisible Trinitarian union.

Theodoret sees and conceives the divine essence or nature in total opposition to the human. The divine οὐσία is timeless, uncreated, omnipotent, free, incorporeal, infinite, immutable and impassible. These characters of the divine nature will have an important role to play in Theodoret's Christology in the same fashion as his ontological interpretation of *naming*.

The relationship between the terms πρόσωπον and ὑπόστασις, as well as their use and applicability for the Bishop of Cyrus in this treatise implies his early attempt to identify the two as synonyms. One might say that an adequate Trinitarian counterpart of the Chalcedonian ἓν πρόσωπον ἐν δύο φύσεσιν is Theodoret's πιστεύομεν μίαν οὐσίαν ἐν τρισὶν ἰδιότησιν γνωριζομένην, to which he adds the expressions ὑποστάσεις and πρόσωπα.

The properties of the divine hypostases – an outlook to Christology

With the acceptance and introduction of the notion of ἰδιότης in his Trinitarian doctrine of the three hypostases Theodoret stands very much in the tradition of the Cappadocians, thus not without precedence in the history of doctrine. The three ὑποστάσεις retaining

their specific attributes and functions within the one being of the harmoniously One God will have a resonance in Theodoret's understanding of the preserved attributes of the two natures within Christ. The Trinitarian version of the issue seems to have been set out by Gregory Nazianzen already: ἐπειδή γε ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὸν ἕνα θεὸν τηρεῖν καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ὁμολογεῖν, καὶ ἑκάστην μετὰ τῆς ἰδιότητος (*Oratio* 2 in *SC* 247, 140). In his *Oratio* 31 Gregory says: ἓν τὰ τρία τῇ θεότητι, καὶ τὸ ἓν τρία ταῖς ἰδιότησιν (*SC* 250, 292). In his *Oratio* 43 again: τρία μὲν ταῖς ἰδιότησιν, ἓν δὲ τῇ θεότητι (*PG* 36, 537B).

A similar pattern of assessing the divine threesome unity has been drawn up by Basil the Great in his confession also. The idea of the preservation of the attributes can nonetheless be found here:

> ἑκάστου ὀνόματος τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου τὴν ἰδιότητα σαφῶς ἡμῖν διευκρινοῦντος, καὶ περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν ὀνομαζομένων πάντως τινῶν ἐξαιρέτων ἰδιωμάτων εὐσεβῶς θεωρουμένων, τοῦ μὲν Πατρὸς ἐν τῷ ἰδιώματι τοῦ Πατρός, τοῦ δὲ Υἱοῦ ἐν τῷ ἰδιώματι τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τοῦ δὲ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ ἰδιώματι (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 270).

This heritage might indeed have a word to say e.g. regarding one's attitude towards *communicatio idiomatum*. The idea of the unconfused properties of the divine hypostases upheld by the three Cappadocians undoubtedly had an effect upon the further formation of the Christological thinking of the Bishop of Cyrus. The faithful disciple could in fact regard the interpretation of 'I and the Father are one' of Gregory of Nyssa as a beneficial advice even in Christology:

> ἀκούσαντες τοίνυν ὅτι ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν, τό τε ἐξ αἰτίου τὸν Κύριον καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἀπαράλλακτον τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς ἐπαιδεύθημεν, οὐκ εἰς μίαν ὑπόστασιν τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἔννοιαν συναλείφοντες, ἀλλὰ φυλάσσοντες μὲν διῃρημένην τὴν τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἰδιότητα, οὐ συνδιαιροῦντες δὲ τοῖς προσώποις τὴν τῆς οὐσίας ἑνότητα, ὡς ἂν μὴ δύο ἑτερογενῆ πράγματα ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγῳ ὑπολαμβάνοιτο καὶ διὰ τούτου πάροδον λάβοι τῶν Μανιχαίων τὸ δόγμα.[234]

The admonition φυλάσσοντες μὲν διῃρημένην τὴν τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἰδιότητα will resound fully in the Chalcedonense concerning the preservation of the properties of both unconfused natures within Jesus Christ. The idea of a συνάφεια understood in the sense of unconfused union of the three divine hypostases and of the two natures within Jesus Christ had a long tradition already in both the Eastern and Western theological literature including Tertullian, Basil, Ambrose, the Cappadocians and the Antiochenes.[235] Its effects, however, will be more apparent in the οἰκονομία than in the θεολογία. Concerning the distinction without separation of the three divine Persons, in his *De fide ad Gratianum* Ambrose writes:

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[234] Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium I-II*, ed. by Werner Jaeger, Gregorii Nysseni Opera (Leiden: Brill, 1960), I, 173-74.

[235] Abramowski, 'Συνάφεια', 80-93. See also section *4.5.6 Terminology* in Ch. 4 of the present work.

> Distinctionem etenim accepimus Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, non confusionem, distinctionem, non separationem, distinctionem, non pluralitatem […] distinctionem scimus, secreta nescimus, causas non discutimus, sacramenta servamus (*CSEL* 78, IV, 8, 88).

Theodoret himself seems to have preserved and carried forward a substantial volume of this Neo-Nicene Trinitarian tradition, by writing:

> We believe that the Trinity has one nature and one essence perceptible in three persons/properties [ἐν τρισὶν ἰδιότησιν γνωριζομένην], whose power is undivided, the kingdom without partition; [there is] one Godhead and one Lordship. Thus the unity [μονάς] is shown in the sameness of the essence, whereas the threeness is perceptible not in the bare names, but in the persons [ἐν ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι] (col. 1188B).

As a clear rejection of Sabellianism, the Bishop of Cyrus implies that the hypostases preserve their particularities, moreover, this is how in fact the Triad is perceptible, and not merely through the names. The distinction between the hypostases based on the ontological significance of their appellations appears in a condensed form in Gregory of Nyssa's confession, where the third Cappadocian asserts that we believe in 'the name' of the divine Persons: πιστεύομεν […] εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. This biblical language was continuously filled with new meaning by Theodoret's forerunners and he continued the course in a similar manner.

There is another traditional expression, which also has its echo in *De Trinitate* and therefore should not be neglected. Its immediate effect cannot be observed in θεολογία, yet it has a major influence upon the Christological exposé. Gregory of Nyssa asserts the famous term concerning the unconfused union of the hypostases in his *Refutatio confessionis Eunomii*, as follows:

> τοῖς δὲ γνωριστικοῖς τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἰδιώμασιν εἰς Πατρός τε καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου πίστιν διήρηται, ἀδιαστάτως τε μεριζόμενον καὶ ἀσυγχύτως ἑνούμενον.[236]

This idea of ἀσυγχύτος ἕνωσις is nonetheless present in Theodoret's Trinitarian doctrine, although it is not given as much attention as its Christological version, where it equals the meaning of συνάφεια. Having noted the importance of the ὀνόματα in identifying the three ὑποστάσεις, Theodoret eagerly resists tritheism:[237]

> For we do not call the One 'three-named' according to the contraction and mixture of Sabellius, Photeinos and Marcellus.[238] We do not [say], that [there are] three [persons] of different kind and distinct essence, unequal and dissimilar, superior to one another, measurable and definable through [human] intellect and tongue, according to the impious meddling of Arius, who

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[236] Werner Jaeger, ed., *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, II, 314-15.
[237] Theodoret rejects the notion of quaternity also in his *Letter* 144 *to Andrew*. See *SC* 111, 160.
[238] The third formula of the second Antiochene council held in 341 contains an express anathema against Marcellus, Sabellius, Paul of Samosata and against their followers. Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 187.

> separated and estranged[239] [the Persons] from each other. Hence, we speak of the three Persons, but the one nature of the Trinity (col. 1188C).[240]

The Bishop of Cyrus wrote the following against Sabellius in *HFC*: μίαν ὑπόστασιν ἔφησεν εἶναι τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἓν τριώνυμον πρόσωπον (*PG* 83, 396C), repeating the wording of his charge concerning the 'One *three-named*.' He wrote similarly against Marcellus and Photeinos. As opposed to their teaching, the young Theodoret had already emphasised the perfection of the three hypostases:

> ὅσον δὲ εὐσεβὲς μᾶλλον καὶ πρέπον τῇ θείᾳ γνώσει κατὰ δύναμιν συλλέξαντες, τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος τὴν ἐν τελείαις τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι γνῶσιν ἐξεθέμεθα (*Expositio* 9 – *PG* 6, 1224B).

The unity in essence, nature, and works of the Trinity is equally important together with the distinct functions and titles of each ὑπόστασις. Theodoret rejects συναίρεσις and συγχύσις, as well as διαιρέσις and ἀλλοτρίωσις as applicable to the Trinity. This two-by-two pattern of excluding the heretic deviance on either side with the assertion of the specific terms reminds the reader of Theodoret's intention expressed in the first chapters of the treatise to pursue a midway between both extremes. It is almost a Trinitarian basis of Chalcedon's subsequent famous four expressions, formed similarly of two antonymous word-pairs. Theodoret proceeds likewise in the Christological section of the treatise, and asserts the expressions, which later shall be validated by the fourth council. His terminology is under formation, being rooted in the Cappadocian tradition and bound together with his Antiochene theological heritage. The connection between θεολογία and οἰκονομία for Theodoret means therefore a terminological continuance as well. The Trinitarian foundation underlying the doctrine concerning the Incarnation shows a terminological consistency in respect to four crucial terms: οὐσία, φύσις, ὑπόστασις and πρόσωπον. Theodoret will use three of these regularly and consistently within the second treatise. The terminological pattern of οἰκονομία will be the reversal of what we have found in the θεολογία. Thus, on one hand, what is *one* in the Trinity (i.e. μία οὐσία and φύσις) will logically become *two* in Christology (δύο φύσεις and οὐσίαι). On the other hand, what are *three* in the θεολογία (πρόσωπα and ὑποστάσεις) will become *one* within the οἰκονομία (ἓν πρόσωπον – as we have said, ὑπόστασις is not yet part of Theodoret's Christological vocabulary). The concept of union in the case of the Trinity is realised on the level of the common divine οὐσία and φύσις, on the level of Christology it will be conceived on the level of the One πρόσωπον.

Theodoret's understanding of the uni-essential Trinity together with his emphasis upon the ὀνόματα of the three Persons and their specific attributes and actions being harmonised within the one divine οὐσία and φύσις largely determines his interpretation

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[239] The depreciative expression πολυπραγμοσύνη refers to Arius's diminishing of the Son in the same fashion as it referred to those trying to degrade the Spirit by asserting that He comes not from the Father alone, but rather, as Theodoret seems to have interpreted it, is the κτίσμα of the Son.

[240] Cf. with *Expositio* 7: ἕνα τοίνυν θεὸν προσῆκεν ὁμολογεῖν ἐν Πατρὶ, καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι γνωριζόμενον· ᾗ μὲν Πατὴρ, καὶ Υἱὸς, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος τὰς ὑποστάσεις γνωρίζοντας· ᾗ δὲ θεὸς, τὸ κατ᾽ οὐσίαν κοινὸν τῶν ὑποστάσεων νοοῦντας (*PG* 6, 1220C).

of the harmony within the πρόσωπον of Jesus Christ, the Word incarnate. The summary at the end of *De Trinitate* is parallel to the second formula of the symbol of faith drawn up at the second Antiochene council in 341, which says:

> [Πιστεύομεν] δηλονότι Πατρὸς ἀληθῶς Πατρὸς ὄντος, Υἱοῦ δὲ ἀληθῶς Υἱοῦ ὄντος, τοῦ δὲ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀληθῶς ἁγίου πνεύματος ὄντος, τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐχ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ ἀργῶς κειμένων, ἀλλὰ σημαινόντων ἀκριβῶς τὴν οἰκείαν ἑκάστου[241] τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ὑπόστασιν καὶ τάξιν καὶ δόξαν· ὡς εἶναι τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἕν.[242]

Finally, Theodoret does not regard his work as being original, but rather as part of a long Christian tradition continuously engrafted by the Spirit of God. The truly honourable way of Christian teaching for the Bishop of Cyrus is the humble acceptance and re-actualisation of the biblical message in an irenical manner for the existing community in accordance with the διδαχὴ τῶν θεολόγων ἀνδρῶν:

> This faith we preserve, since this had the theologians instructed us. Yet, for those who argue based on [human] reasoning, we say: that is your share, your heritage according to your fate; our share however, is the Lord, and following Him we shall not forsake the right way, for we have also the divine Scripture as a teacher. Thus, we exclaim rightly so: 'Your law is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my paths.' Being illuminated by this light we recognise the footprints of the foregoing fathers and follow those until we all reach the resurrection of the dead in Christ Jesus, to whom shall be glory forever. Amen.

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[241] Socrates read: τὴν ἰδίαν ἑκάστου.
[242] Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 185-86.

Chapter 4: The Christology of Theodoret's *De incarnatione*

4.1 Introduction

Theodoret's Christological thinking in *De incarnatione* is of peculiar interest for the period around the Council of Ephesus, since this treatise is the representative piece of work within which the Bishop of Cyrus intended to summarise the main points of the Antiochene theology in a mostly irenical manner. Its emphases are quite clear concerning both the soteriological and pastoral concerns of the author. Of course, some passages directed e.g. against Apollinaris may seem indeed oblique attacks upon Cyrilline Christology (since at the time of writing Theodoret suspected Cyril of Apollinarianism), and the whole treatise may not be regarded as being entirely 'innocent' from the viewpoint of theological reconciliation. Just because the name of Cyril does not appear in either tract it cannot be said that all polemic allusions are missing. Nevertheless, the fact that in the other pre-Ephesian writings of Theodoret his opponent is often clearly denoted or hinted at still validates the general assessment that the Bishop of Cyrus made an attempt to put some of the already accumulated bitterness behind him whilst composing *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*. In support of this irenical character – or at least of the intention to approach the issue with less altercation – one could bring two further arguments:

1. Theodoret mentioned these two treatises in his quoted letter to Leo, whilst he left out e.g. the *Counter-Statements*, the *Pentalogus* as well as the *Defence of Diodore and Theodore*. By doing this, he himself characterised this work indirectly as being at least less hostile to Cyrilline theology than the others.
2. Without forcing an 'argumentum ex silentio', it ought to be recognised that according to the available evidence the fifth ecumenical council in 553 did not condemn these tracts, although it is unlikely that they could have been unknown to the participants, the more so since Severus had noted in 520 already that certain passages from *De incarnatione* were parallel to the *Counter-Statements*.

In the introductory remarks of Ch. 1 the author expresses the same intentions as in *De Trinitate*, i.e. to speak ἐν εὐσεβῶν συλλόγῳ, his aim being 'not to contradict the impious, but to expound faith for the disciples of the apostles'. The connection between the two works is made by the following: τῇ θεολογίᾳ τὴν οἰκονομίαν συνάπτων (*PG* 75, 1420B).

The structure of the treatise, although it bears some marks of a quick editing during the turmoil of the Nestorian controversy, contains a clearly discernible major line of discussion following the sequence of salvation history. It begins with the creation, continues with the fall and God's beneficial acts towards humankind in the Old Testament. Then we encounter the discussion of the Incarnation and the related issues, the author concluding with the resurrection of Christ, the command to baptise all people and the assumption of our nature into heaven.

Within this framework there are some doctrinal and terminological digressions, polemical excursuses, by which the author intends to clarify his position concerning certain interpretations of Scripture in his own time. As a result, some themes discussed from one perspective reappear in later chapters in different contexts. The work itself as handed

down to us is composed of 35 chapters (instead of the original 37) structured roughly around the following lines:

- The first seven chapters summarise the creation and the fall of man;
- Chs. 8-10 deal with the Incarnation and mount the first attack on Apollinarian Christology;
- Chs. 11-12 return briefly to the Incarnation and to the question of sin;
- Chs. 13-14 contain the analysis of the Temptation-story;
- Chs. 15-19 present additional reasons for the assumption of a rational soul (second attack upon the Arian-Apollinarian Λόγος–σάρξ model);
- Chs. 20-22 deal with the mode of the union and the appellations of Christ;
- Ch. 23 is consecrated to the birth from the Virgin Mary;
- Chs. 24-28 summarise the earthly life of Christ (baptism, temptation, miracles, passion, death, resurrection and command to baptise all people) with recurrent digressions concerning the union and attributes of natures, the temple assumed by the Word, the naming of the Saviour etc.
- Chs. 29-30 return to the problem of 'naming', the discussion of the temple, of sin and of the union;
- Chs. 31-32 are terminologically clarifying chapters: the author rejects the notions of teaching two Sons or a mixture of natures instead of an unmingled union (third, terminological attack on the Arian-Apollinarian model);
- Ch. 33 speaks of the grace and the role of the Spirit following the assumption of our nature (in Christ) into heaven;
- Ch. 34 is the closure of *De Trinitate* with the acceptance of the 'boundaries' set by the fathers;
- Ch. 35 is the closure of *De incarnatione*, with the juxtaposition of θεοτόκος and ἀνθρωποτόκος, concluded by a Trinitarian doxology.

Although a chapter-by-chapter analysis is sometimes better in order to interpret the author's thought faithfully (this is what I have done mainly in the previous chapter, since in *De Trinitate* one can find a more clearly discernible structure), yet such a discussion of *De incarnatione* could hardly be achieved without repetition. This is to some extent evident from the very basic outline above also. Therefore I have attempted to provide a thematic discussion of the issues involved, with the awareness that however careful the selection and structuring of themes as well as the aim of comprehensiveness may be, it still remains a somewhat subjectively imposed method to handle the material.

In the present chapter, therefore, I propose to discuss the Christology of *De incarnatione* in the following manner: in the first section I shall present Theodoret's anthropology, which underlies his Christological thought, including the issues concerning the human body, flesh and (rational) soul in general and in Christ in particular. This will be followed by Theodoret's concept of sin and its soteriological-Christological significance. In the

next section I shall discuss the divine and human manifestations of Christ in the *oikonomia*, with special consideration of the author's favourite themes, including the Temptation-story. The third section will deal with the properties of each nature as seen by Theodoret, his concept of union and the issue of the subject of predication within the Person of Christ, where I shall give attention to the issues of ontological naming and union of worship. The last part of the chapter is devoted to terminological clarifications.

4.2 Anthropology underlying Christology

In order to understand Theodoret's concept of Christ being fully human and fully divine, we ought to define the elements which constitute a human nature for our author as well as their theological significance.

4.2.1 The human body

The human body as part of human nature is the result of God's creation. Moreover, the creation of the body preceded the soul, as it appears also in Theodoret's *HFC*:

> For also the most divine Moses said that the body of Adam was formed first and then God breathed the soul [ψυχή] into him (*PG* 83, 481CD).

According to Ch. 2 of *De incarnatione* God transformed [μετέβαλεν] the earth [χοῦς] into human nature [εἰς ἀνθρώπου φύσιν] (*PG* 75, 1420D). This sentence will be contrasted in Ch. 8, where by the use of the same verb μεταβάλλω the author underlines that during His incarnation, the Word of God Himself did not transform the divine nature into human (col. 1426D).[243] Thus, he clearly distinguishes between the terminology of 'creation' and 'incarnation'. Theodoret reacts promptly to Apollinaris's concept of the Word and His flesh at the beginning of Ch. 18:

> Apollinaris […] said that the Word-God assumed the flesh and used it like a veil [παραπετάσμα]. There was no need for the mind, [he said], because He [i.e. the Word] took the place of the mind for the body. 'But, my dear fellow' – could someone tell him – 'the God-Word would not need the body either, for He was not in want! He could have accomplished our salvation by His mere command!' (col. 1448C).

The reality of the body of Christ is an indispensable part of His true human nature, of course, without the slightest impairment being done to His divinity: 'Nor does [John] say, that the divine essence was somehow turned into flesh, but proclaims that the human nature was assumed by the God-Word' (col. 1449B).

4.2.2 The human soul

The famous sentence 'the Word was made flesh' is explained in Ch. 18 with an anti-Apollinarian emphasis, through which the author shows that Scripture often labels the

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[243] See also Theodoret's reply to the first Cyrilline Anathema.

whole by the part (i.e. the entire human nature by the flesh), and therefore John 1:14 has to be understood as the Word assuming the entire human nature. Whilst the argument concerning the acceptance of a true human body by the Saviour could not meet any substantial opposition amongst the adepts of the Λόγος–σάρξ model, nevertheless, the issue of the presence of a rational soul within Christ – especially the kind of participation this soul could have in actual moral choices – had been for long a subject of contention between Antiochene and some Alexandrian theologians going back to as early as Diodore and Apollinaris. As Grillmeier and Böhm rightly observe, 'the soul of Christ [for Athanasius] is a physical [i.e. verbally acknowledged], but not a theological factor'.[244]

The human soul is very much a theological factor for the author of *De incarnatione*. It is therefore important to assess first what the human soul meant for Theodoret anthropologically in order to understand his relevant Christological concerns. Consequently, I shall start with the presentation of the soul's place and role within the human being and then turn to discuss her function within the Person of Christ.

The soul as the greatest gift of God

After having formed the body of the human being, God gave life to His creation. Theodoret first mentions ψυχή in Ch. 2, but there it is a more or less open question whether the term should be translated as 'soul' or simply 'life'. As our author says, the Creator gave beauty and ψυχή to the formless clay (col. 1420B), whilst a few lines later he explains the most important gift of God:

> In addition, [He] gave [him] a governing and guiding mind [νοῦν] filled with wisdom, infused with overall knowledge and understanding; [He] made the clay-figure conscious [λογικόν] and created the statue of dust in His own image, and gifted the ruling, autocratic and creative [one] with the spiritual and immortal soul [τῇ νοερᾷ ψυχῇ] (col. 1421A).

The most precious possession of the human being then is the spiritual and immortal soul, which is also the governing power of the individual. In *HFC* Theodoret wrote:

> We say that the thing infused [τὸ ἐμφύσημα] was not a part of the divine essence [οὐ μέρος τι τῆς θείας οὐσίας], according to the folly of Cerdon and Marcion, but we say that the nature of the soul [τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν φύσιν] is signified through this, that the soul is a spirit, both rational and intellectual [ὅτι πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή, λογικόν τε καὶ νοερόν] (*PG* 83, 481CD).

The human soul is not just a life-giving source, but rather the intellectual governor of the entire human being and a substantial component of what our author calls 'human nature'. This soul is depicted as 'the imitator of the Creator', since it was for the intellect's sake that the visible world was created 'because God does not need these [things]' (col. 1445CD). Thus, Christ indeed 'renewed the whole worn out [human] nature', not leaving aside the mind, which is its most valuable part, as the Platonic parallel shows: '[The intellect] is the charioteer [ἡνίοχος], the governor and harmonising [force] of the body,

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[244] Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 325. See also Böhm, *Die Christologie des Arius*, 65.

by which human nature is not irrational, but full of wisdom, art and skill' (col. 1448A).[245] Theodoret concludes in Ch. 17:

> [Even] the coming of our Saviour happened for the sake [of the mind], thus the mystery of the dispensation [τῆς οἰκονομίας μυστήριον] being accomplished. For He did not receive the salvific sufferings for [creatures] without soul or mind [ἀψύχων ἢ ἀνοήτων], nor for senseless [ἀλόγων] cattle or soulless stones, but for people possessing immortal souls [ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον] within [themselves] (col. 1448B).

The attributes of the soul granted by the Creator make her worthy of being saved. It is perhaps not superfluous to consider the main virtues and responsibilities of this soul which seem to make her thus indispensable in the course of the *oikonomia*.

The moral attributes and responsibilities of the human soul

According to Ch. 5 of *De incarnatione*, the human soul is capable of receiving and understanding a given law. In Eden God gave man a commandment as an 'exercise of virtue' [γυμνάσιον ἀρετῆς] which 'is quite easy for the sound-minded' (col. 1424A). This commandment is God's protective act towards man, making him aware that he rules but is also ruled by his Creator. Moreover, 'the giving of law is suitable for the rational [creatures] [τοῖς λογικοῖς], because lawless existence is proper only to the irrational [ἀλόγων γὰρ ἴδιον τὸ νόμων χωρὶς πολιτεύεσθαι]'. The expression πολιτεύεσθαι might as well refer to human civilisation. So when Theodoret says that the mindless creatures do not have 'laws', he does not refer to the 'natural law' existent among them in various forms, but rather to human laws as being a result of God's decree or of a moral agreement between people, which by itself presupposes the existence of a higher intellect.

It follows that the human rational soul, i.e. the mind or the intellect, had to play a crucial role in the fall of humankind also. Theodoret affirms this explicitly in Ch. 17:

> For the entire human being was beguiled [ἠπατήθη], and entered totally under sin, yet the mind had accepted the deceit before the body [πρὸ τοῦ σώματος δὲ τὴν ἀπάτην ὁ νοῦς ὑπεδέχατο], because the prior contribution of the mind sketches out [σκιαγραφεῖ] the sin, and thus by its action [i.e. of the mind] the body gives shape to it (col. 1445C).

The emphasis upon this aspect of moral responsibility ascribed to the soul is both pastoral and soteriological. With the insistence upon the fact that 'human nature […] drew upon itself servitude voluntarily' (Ch. 12, col. 1437B), the author prepares the soteriological ground for the restoration of the human soul's initial dignity by Christ 'accepting the sufferings of salvation voluntarily' (title of Ch. 26, col. 1465B). Yet, before analysing the role of the human soul in Christ we have to define the difference between the anthropology of Theodoret and of the heresies he is arguing against.

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[245] Cf. with the following passage from Theodoret's *De providentia oratio* X: Τοῦ λογικοῦ τοιγαροῦν ἡ ὑγεία φρόνησις ὀνομάζεται […] φέρεται δὲ εὐτάκτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὁ ἡνίοχος νοῦς (*PG* 83, 645D).

Bipartite anthropology

Theodoret's anthropology is clearly bipartite. What is interesting, though, is that the Bishop of Cyrus has a clear insight into the Apollinarian tripartite anthropology and does not condemn the former Bishop of Laodicea based on mere misunderstanding. In Ch. 9 he points at the common root of Arianism and Apollinarianism:

> Some of those who think the opposite of piety try to attack the doctrine of truth with apostolic words. On one hand, Arius and Eunomius maintain strongly that the Word of God assumed a soulless man [ἄψυχον ἄνθρωπον]. On the other hand, Apollinaris [maintains that there was] a soul [in the man] [ἔμψυχον], but that it was deprived of intellect [νοῦς] (I do not know what he meant by the human soul) (col. 1428A).

Theodoret touches here upon a very important aspect, namely, that the otherwise conflicting Arian and Apollinarian systems have a common model of Christ: the Λόγος–σάρξ framework. Grillmeier traces back their origin to Paul of Samosata:

> If we can accept the tradition about Paul of Samosata as genuine, it would be possible that we had here the common root of Arianism, Apollinarianism and some aspects of the Christology of the Alexandrian church.[246]

Milton V. Anastos holds the same view.[247] Thomas Böhm does not ascribe the concept of 'soulless body' to Arius himself, yet he admits that it certainly was not a decisive problem for the heresiarch.[248]

Theodoret was also familiar with Paul of Samosata,[249] whom he labels as the 'false-named Paul' in Ch. 10. Moreover, his awareness of this common root of the Arian and Apollinarian Christologies might well have been influenced by other ancient writers, like the friend of Eunomius, i.e. Eudoxius of Constantinople,[250] who in his confession summarised the central Arian doctrine on the incarnation:

> We believe in [...] the one Lord, the Son [...] who became flesh, but not man [σαρκωθέντα, οὐκ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα]. For He did not take a human soul, but became flesh [οὔτε γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀνείληφεν, ἀλλὰ σὰρξ

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[246] Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 165.

[247] 'It is curious that, despite their insistence on freedom of the will in Christ, the Arians believed, as did Apollinarius later on, that the place of the rational soul in Christ was taken by the divine Logos.' Milton V. Anastos, 'The immutability of Christ and Justinian's condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia', *DOP*, 6 (1951), 125-60 (126, note 6).

[248] 'Es scheint, daß die Lehre vom σῶμα ἄψυχον bei Arius eine zu schwache Textgrundlage besitzt, als daß sie auf Arius selbst angewendet werden könnte. Vielmehr dürfte die Frage nach der menschlichen Seele bei Arius so wenig wie bei Athanasius *das* entscheidende theologische Problem gewesen sein.' Thomas Böhm, *Die Christologie des Arius*, Studien zur Theologie und Geschichte, VII (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1991), 66. For a recent presentation of the scholarship on Arius and Arianism see Rowan Williams, *Arius, Heresy and Tradition*, 2nd edn (London: SCM Press, 2001), 1-25.

[249] See *HFC* II, 8: 'After a certain Malchion, who was earlier a sophist by profession and later by ordination an honourable presbyter, held a debate with Paul, the latter was found saying that Christ was a man, who was exceedingly honoured by divine grace [θείας χάριτος διαφερόντως ἠξιωμένον]. Then, moreover, rightly they excommunicated him from the holy lists [καταλόγων] (*PG* 83, 396B).

[250] See *HFC PG* 83, 416C-421B.

> γέγονεν], in order that through the flesh as through a veil [διὰ σαρκὸς ὡς διὰ παραπετάσματος][251] God might be revealed to us human beings (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 261-62).

Arius also omitted the 'becoming human' [ἐνανθρώπησις] from his confession sent to Constantine and accepted only the Word's 'taking flesh' [σάρκα ἀναλαβόντα].[252] The same is valid for Eusebius of Caesarea (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 257-58). Eustathius of Antioch, one of our author's spiritual fathers in doctrinal matters, exclaims in his polemic against the Arians: 'But why are they [i.e. the Arians] so eager to show that Christ assumed a soulless body [ἄψυχον σῶμα]?'[253]

The argument against the Arian-Apollinarian ἄψυχος ἄνθρωπος reappears in the doctrine of Theodoret, who realises that the common fault of Arianism and Apollinarianism lies in their incomplete model of Christ. He makes the necessary distinction between the two by admitting that Apollinaris accepted the existence of the ψυχή, but not of the νοῦς. Nevertheless, this does not modify the basic picture. Our author says 'I do not know what he [Apollinaris] meant by the human soul [ἀνθρωπεία ψυχή]'. Of course he does, since he knows that the most Apollinaris could mean was 'source of life', i.e. something which by its mere presence ensures that the body is alive. He certainly did not assign any spiritual functions to the ψυχή, since the governing role belonged to the νοῦς, the third component of Apollinaris' anthropology which the heresiarch denied to Christ. Theodoret considers the ψυχή as being a ψυχὴ λογική, i.e. both life-giving and governing intellect, and this latter function of the rational soul is what he is concerned with here.

The point against Arius and Apollinaris is enforced with the reinvocation of the terminology adopted from Paul the Apostle in Ch. 10: 'The essence of the servant, that is of the human being, does not only mean the visible body [τὸ φαινόμενον σῶμα] for the sound-minded, but the whole human nature' (col. 1432B). Theodoret's bipartite anthropology requires that the recognition of the full human nature should involve the union of body and rational soul. The text of *De incarnatione* shows that our author has understood the Apollinarian tripartite anthropology and that he finds it faulty. This is shown by his repeatedly occurring formula: σάρκα λαβὼν ἔμψυχόν τε καὶ λογικήν (col. 1433A-B).

For Apollinaris the σάρξ and the life-giving ψυχή form the human nature. The νοῦς, when added to these two, brings about a human person in the Apollinarian system, which he [Apollinaris] cannot then admit to be assumed by the Word in order to maintain the union of the one incarnate Person of the Word. This is where the famous Apollinarian formula μία φύσις, μία ὑπόστασις, μία ἐνέργεια, ἓν πρόσωπον of the Incarnate Word emerges from.[254] In opposition to this, in Theodoret's bipartite anthropology the

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[251] Theodoret rejected παραπετάσμα, yet he ascribed the idea (certainly not by mistake) to Apollinaris.
[252] Opitz, *Urkunde* 30, 64.
[253] Eustathius, *De anima adversus Arianos*, ed. by M. Spanneut, Recherches sur les écrits d'Eustathe d'Antioche (Lille: 1948), 100; also in *PG* 18, 689B.
[254] Apollinaris, *De fide et incarnatione* 6 in Hans Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1904), 199.

full human nature involves two elements, which in the Apollinarian system would mean three.

Theodoret knew that his anthropology was biblical as opposed to the one of Apollinaris, since he wrote in *Letter* 146 at the beginning of 451:

> Apollinaris asserted indeed that He assumed a soul with the body also, yet not the reasonable one [τὴν λογικήν], but the soul which is called vivifying or animal [ἀλλὰ τὴν ζωτικὴν ἤγουν φυτικὴν ὀνομαζομένην]. For, he says, the Godhead fulfilled [ἐπλήρου] the function [τὴν χρείαν] of the mind. Hence, he learned [about] the distinction of soul and of mind by the outsider [i.e. pagan] philosophers [ψυχῆς δὲ καὶ νοῦ τὴν διαίρεσιν παρὰ τῶν ἔξω μεμάθηκε φιλοσόφων]. For the divine Scripture says that man consists [συνεστάναι] of soul and body. For it says [Genesis 2:7]. And the Lord in the holy Gospels said to His apostles [Matthew 10:28] (*SC* 111, 182).

It is evident that the biblical verse ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν means for our author that man became a rational being also. Indeed, for Theodoret who argues from a biblical perspective the human body and rational soul together form a complete human essence or nature. He does not seem to share Apollinaris' concern that this union would consitute already a human person. If the Bible does not distinguish between the soul and the mind, the theologian is not allowed to do so either. Thus, the main motive behind Theodoret's emphasis upon the assumption of a rational soul is not merely his eagerness to maintain the divine impassibility of the Word (as we shall see below) but to validate by exegesis the teaching of Scripture concerning the human being.

Theodoret's anthropology can be understood even better when we consider his concept of death. I am quoting a relevant passage from Ch. 19:

> The foremost of the apostles testifies that these [things] are so, when he says in the Acts, that His soul [ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ] will not be left in hell, neither shall His flesh [ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ] know decay. So then, the destruction of the temple is the separation [χωρισμός] of soul and body, and again, resurrection is the returning [of the soul] into her own flesh. Therefore, if every human being had two souls [ψυχὰς δύο], as the leaders of the heresy are saying, one vivifying [ζωτικήν] and the [other] rational [λογικήν], and flesh were inconceivable without vivifying soul (for, he [i.e. Apollinaris] says, this is named body [σῶμα] and not flesh [σάρξ]), yet Peter said, that not the body of the Lord, but the flesh of the Lord shall not see destruction and His soul will not be forsaken in hell, it is evident, that the mortal flesh possessed the vivifying soul (or I do not know how they call it), because without her, as they say, it could not be named [living] flesh. But even the immortal and rational [soul], which is entrusted to govern the living [creature], was not forsaken in hell, but returned to her own flesh; and in vain do they babble, labelling the temple of the God-Word [as being] soulless and irrational. Yet we follow Peter, who preached that neither the flesh received corruption, nor the soul was forsaken in hell, but returned and conjoined [συναφθεῖσαν] with her own body (col. 1452C-1453A).

Evidently, Theodoret sees the death of Christ as a truly human death, involving the separation of the body from the soul and not merely the separation of the Word from the flesh. Moreover, he uses the Apollinarian interpretation of these terms in order to contradict the Arian-Apollinarian Christological model. As we see from the above, σάρξ for the heretics is the union between σώμα and ψυχὴ ζωτική. This is interesting, since one may expect it to be the other way around, 'body' meaning more in any language than 'flesh'. Yet, exactly this is the intention of the author, i.e. to use the terms in the sense Apollinaris had applied them, and to point out the inconsistencies through biblical arguments. If death is the separation between the body and the soul, yet not the σώμα but the σάρξ was not forsaken in hell according to Peter's words, it means that both the σώμα and the vivifying ψυχή were recovered from hell. Thus, the only option remaining to describe a true human death of the Lord is the separation of His ψυχὴ λογική from His σάρξ (consisting of σώμα and ψυχὴ ζωτική), because if He did not have a true human death, He was not truly man either. As a consequence, Theodoret argues, the rational soul had to be a necessary part of the incarnate Word's own being even if we interpret these terms in the manner of Apollinaris. It is also clear that for our author only the rational soul is immortal, the Apollinarian vivifying one is not. Further, Theodoret emphasises that this 'temple', which in his usage means the perfect humanity, is the Word's own. The return and συνάφεια of the soul with the flesh is therefore a true resurrection following a true human death, i.e. the redemption of the whole human nature.

The term συνάφεια denotes here an unmingled union between the soul and the flesh. Although we shall return to the analysis of this term in the terminological section, a last important occurrence concerning the issue of anthropology has to be pointed out. In Ch. 32 Theodoret defines the relationship between the human body and soul in the following manner:

> For we do not say that the soul is mixed [κεκρᾶσθαι] with the body, but rather that she is united [ἡνῶσθαι] and conjoined [συνῆφθαι] [with it], dwells [οἰκεῖν] and works inside [it] [ἐνεργεῖν]. Nobody would say that the soul is mortal or the body immortal without being entirely in foolish error. So while we distinguish each [nature], we acknowledge one living being [ἓν ζῶον] composed [συγκείμενον] out of these. We name each nature with different names, [one is] the soul, [the other] the body, however, the living being composed out of both we give a different name, for we call that human being [ἄνθρωπον] (col. 1473A).

This is the way Theodoret conceives a 'true humanity'.[255] The soul-body relationship of union, connection, indwelling and inworking is the key to understand his anthropological concerns underlying his Christology. Any separation between the body and the rational soul cannot be interpreted otherwise than as an incomplete humanity. In order for Christ

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[255] There is one passage in the *Expositio* 11 (*PG* 6, 1225B-1228C) where the soul-body relationship is likened to the union of the divinity and humanity in Christ. Theodoret argues here that the human being is one nature consisting of two elements, whilst Christ is two natures. Nevertheless, for the sake of a better organisation of the argument, I have chosen to present this at the end of the terminological section. See *Rejection of misleading terms and the 'image' of the oikonomia* at the end of this chapter.

to be 'very man', a true human ἓν ζῶον, He had to live, die and even be resurrected according to the pattern sketched out above.

4.2.3 Theological reasons why Christ had to assume a human rational soul

It is clear that from the anthropological viewpoint of our author Christ had to assume a human rational soul. Nevertheless, anthropology is not his only argument. A very obvious theological concern can be sensed throughout the work in connection with the rational soul assumed by the Word. Apart from the (by then fairly known) Cappadocian point of 'what was not assumed, was not saved' (around which e.g. Ch. 17 is built), Theodoret brings forward biblical, soteriological, forensic and pastoral arguments. The biblical evidence is quoted from Luke's gospel:

> Luke, the godly inspired evangelist distinctly shows us the human mind [τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον] of the Saviour Christ [Luke 2:40 and 2:52]. Hence 'increased in wisdom' cannot be stated about the wise God, who is not in want [of anything], is eternally perfect, and accepts neither increase nor decrease, but about the human mind, which develops together with the age, needs teaching, receives the arts and sciences, and gradually perceives the human and divine [realities] (col. 1453D-1456A).

Thus, in order for Luke's words to be true concerning the growth and 'waxing strong in spirit' of Christ, our author insists upon the presence of the rational soul within Him. Until this point he is in harmony with all the non-Apollinarian theologians of Alexandria also. Nevertheless, the place he intends to give to the rational human soul in the act of the salvation – although deriving from soteriological concerns – meets the opposition of some representatives of the other side. The text of the former Ch. 15 is quoted in its entirety by Marius Mercator (see *PL* 48, 1075B-1076A) in order to show Theodoret's Nestorianism:

> These [facts] refute the thoughtless talk of Apollinaris, who said that the Word of God dwelt in the place of intellect [ἀντὶ νοῦ τὸν θεὸν Λόγον ἐνοικῆσαι λέγει] in the assumed flesh. If the assumed nature did not possess a human mind, then it is God who fought against the devil, and God is crowned in victory. Hence, if God is the winner, I gained nothing from the victory, because I did not contribute to it with anything. I have been deprived even of the joy concerning it, like one who is bragging with someone else's trophies. The devil, however, is boasting, swaggering, haughtily gloating and disdaining, like one who fought with God and was defeated by God. Since for him even being defeated by God is a great [achievement] (col. 1441D-1444A).

The issue at stake here is 'my role' in the salvation. We have seen that the *oikonomia* happens for the sake of the fallen mind. Although it might sound peculiar, what Theodoret means by 'my role' here is none else than the role of the general human nature. This is a clear soteriological and forensic point: the same nature, which trespassed, has to pay the price. If this did not happen and if the Word was indeed

replacing the mind in the assumed manhood then 'the devil could find some justifiable excuses' (col. 1444A).[256] In the same fashion, 'the sinners also have an excuse if the Word of God did not assume the mind because of its weakness' (col. 1444D). The author appeals to God's justice:

> Then these [i.e. the sinners] can fairly say to the God of all: 'We did not commit, [oh] Lord, anything unforgivable or deserving punishment, because the governing intellect received [from You] is weak [νοῦν ἡγεμόνα λαβόντες ἀσθενῆ] and is unable to keep Your laws [...] But why should one say more? You yourself, Lord, when You arrived in flesh and assumed our flesh, You rejected and did not accede to take on the intellect, which hinders the gain of virtue and easily accepts the deceit of sin. *You* had replaced reason [in] the flesh, and in *this* manner You fulfilled righteousness. In *this* way You defeated sin. For You are God, You do with Your will what You want, You change reality with a nod. But we possess human mind, which You did not want to assume. Thus we are necessarily fallen under sin, being unable to follow Your footsteps.' [...] Those who chose to serve sin could justly say this, if the God-Word really assumed a man without intellect[257] (col. 1444D-1445B).

Apart from its forensic character, this is a strong point of theodicy concerning the mode in which the Atonement had been fulfilled. Theodoret emphasises that Christ had gone through a true human life, suffering and death involving also moral decisions and challenges brought against His human soul even to the point of this soul's separation in death and reunion after resurrection with His body. If all this did not happen so and Christ had shown merely a 'divine performance' lacking any human character, then the salvation was simply not accomplished, only mimed. This is a valid argument given the soteriological and pastoral perspective of the tract. If it were not, then one has to question the entire soteriology behind it. In order to understand this connection between the excuses of the sinners and the assumption of the rational soul in the *oikonomia* one ought to analyse Theodoret's concept of sin.[258]

4.3 The concept and meaning of sin

Sin is the voluntary act of the rational soul against God's explicit will or command (see Chs. 5, 6 and 12). It also alters the image of God in man, an image, which has to be restored by the Word Himself through the 'ineffable mystery of the *oikonomia*':

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[256] The issue will be dealt with below in section *4.5.3 The subject of predication*.

[257] Vat. 841 reads: εἴπερ ὁ θεὸς Λόγος ἀληθῶς ἄνουν ἀνέλαβεν ἄνθρωπον (cf. *PG* 75, 1445B), whereas Zigabenus had: εἴπερ ἀληθῶς ὁ θεὸς Λόγος ἄνουν ἔλαβεν ἄνθρωπον (*PG* 130, 925D). Migne's edition is a result of a faulty reading of the manuscript.

[258] See Ambrose's Anathema 7 quoted by Theodoret under the name of Damasus in *HE*: ἀναθεματίζομεν κακείνους οἵτινες ἀντὶ λογικῆς ψυχῆς διισχυρίζονται ὅτι ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγος ἐστράφη ἐν τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ σαρκί. αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Υἱὸς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγος οὐχὶ ἀντὶ τῆς λογικῆς καὶ νοερὰς ψυχῆς ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν, τουτέστι λογικὴν καὶ νοεράν, ἄνευ τῆς ἁμαρατίας ψυχὴν ἀνέλαβέ τε καὶ ἔσωσεν (*GCS* 44, 298; cf. with the Latin version in Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 272).

> For the Word of God Himself, the author of all creation, the immeasurable, the indescribable and immutable, the spring of life, the light of light, the living image of the Father, the brightness of [His] glory, and the express image of [His] Person, takes on the human nature and recreates His own image [τὴν οἰκείαν εἰκόνα νεοποιεῖ] which was altered by sin. He renews its statue aged by the rust of wickedness and shows it even more beautiful than the first, but not by forming it of the earth, like before, but by accepting it Himself (col. 1425CD).

Thus, sin having altered the image of God within all people, it is the task of αὐτὸς ὁ Λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, the acting subject of the above passage who is also the image of the Father's *hypostasis* (like in *De Trinitate*) to restore it within humankind. Jesus Christ bears therefore two εἰκόνες: the one of God the Father as well as the original εἰκών of God given to man which Adam and Eve had worn before the fall, so that the divine εἰκών might restore the destroyed εἰκών of the human φύσις. This idea returns twice again in *De incarnatione*. In Chs. 11 and 23 we read about 'the Creator, who pitied our nature for being threatened by the Evil One, exposed to the bitter arrows of sin and thrown over to death, [comes to] defend His [own] image and overwhelms the enemy' (col. 1433BC) as well as 'the Creator commiserating with His own striving image exposed to death' (col. 1460B).

These occurrences strengthen Theodoret's point concerning sin as being the insurmountable obstacle between God and fallen humankind. Sin brings about death as its just punishment, yet this also shows God's mercy at the same time (Ch. 6). God had saved humankind by proving the injustice of sin and destroying the power of death. Since it had put both the fallen humankind and the only righteous one (i.e. Christ) under the same punishment of death, sin 'is inevitably thrown out of power [because of being] unjust [ὡς ἄδικος τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκβάλλεται]' (col. 1436A).

Sin is the cause of Christ's sacrifice (Ch. 27); it is our illness for which the medication is the παθήματα of our Saviour (Ch. 28, col. 1468B). Moreover, sin is the key to explain the difference between us and the humanity of Christ.

Sin as the only difference between our human nature and of Christ

It is a thoroughly pursued argument of *De incarnatione* that Christ had a complete human nature. Nevertheless, sin is not just the barrier between God and us, but also between the human nature of Christ and our fallen human nature. The author emphasises repeatedly that Jesus is in all equal to us, sin excepted (Ch. 10). As the very dogmatically formulated sentence reads, ἄνθρωπος γὰρ γενόμενος [κατὰ] τὴν φύσιν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος,[259] 'that is why in the likeness of the sinful flesh He condemned the sin in the flesh (col. 1429B)'. He received our passions fully, except sin (Ch. 24), even became sin for us (Ch. 18), yet His goal was not to justify the assumed humanity, which He had kept intact from the arrows of sin (Ch. 11 and 29). He being tempted, is able to

[259] The negative particle οὐ is missing from Vat. 841, but as Mai notes, it has to be put there.

help those in temptation, since He was tempted like we are, yet without sin (Ch 21). This idea is developed to a very interesting pinnacle in Ch. 18:

> He wanted us to be partakers [κοινωνία] in [His] success: *that is why* He took on the nature that had sinned [φύσιν τὴν ἡμαρτηκυῖαν] and made it right [δικαίωσας] by His own torment, released it [ἀπήλλαξεν] from under the bitter tyranny of sin, of the devil and of death. He honoured it [ἠξίωσε] [i.e. the human nature] with heavenly throne, and by that which was assumed He gave [μετέδωκεν] freedom to all humankind [παντὶ τῷ γένει]' (col. 1448CD).[260]

The text above evinces Christ's divine grace who is ready to assume the sinful nature although not in the sense as to be born in sin or to become a sinner, but rather to share all the sufferings, temptations and challenges of sinners. The concept of Cyril and Theodoret concerning original sin was somewhat different from Augustine's as observed by J. Meyendorff. He argues that the two Eastern theologians did not emphasise our own culpability directly on account of Adam's sin, but rather argued that the fall of Adam subjected the entire human nature and race to the slavery of the Evil One as well as contaminated it with corruption and mortality.[261] That is why Theodoret labels baptism 'a garment of immortality' at the end of Ch. 27 of *De incarnatione*, since it removes the effect caused by Adam's sin.

This being granted, though, the usage of the phrase φύσιν τὴν ἡμαρτηκυῖαν above is of a peculiar significance. It is not my task to provide here a detailed analysis of Theodoret's concept of original sin. Nevertheless, the text of *De incarnatione* – including the above paragraph – provides us with sufficient evidence that the author did not base his Christology on 'Pelagian' presumptions.[262] Theodoret avoids this by insisting upon the sinlessness of Christ, thus, upon His perfect humanity, which is perfect both in the sense that it is complete (i.e. it includes the rational soul), but also in the sense of being free from sin. Thus, in the sentence 'He showed that in human nature it is possible to overcome the arrows of sin' the 'human nature' is none else than that of Adam before the fall, who thus had the same chance to obey or disobey God's commandment (col. 1429BC).

The mode of Christ's incarnation, including His Virgin birth, is the further proof of His total sinlessness. This qualifies Him to be the second Adam indeed, i.e. humanly the same as Adam before the fall: this Pauline idea is carried through Theodoret's entire description of the *oikonomia*, which will be discussed in the following section.

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[260] Cf. with *HFC* in *PG* 83, 425D-428A.

[261] J. Meyendorff, '' Εφ' ᾧ (Rom. 5,12) chez Cyrille d'Alexandrie et Théodoret', *SP*, 4 (1961), 157-61.

[262] For further evidence see e.g. the end of Ch.11 and Ch. 12 of *De incarnatione*, where not only death itself is depicted as inherited from Adam, but the author asserts that 'the fall/defeat [ἧττα] of our forefather became our common fall/defeat [ἧττα κοινή]' (col. 1436D).

4.4 The divinity and humanity of Christ in the oikonomia

Once we have clarified the basic anthropological and soteriological concepts of our author including his hamartology it is time now to analyse how these ideas are applied in various moments of salvation history. In this section I shall follow the main events of Christ's earthly life and their significance for Theodoret with a special treatment of the Temptation-story, the very heartland of Antiochene soteriology.

4.4.1 The birth and childhood of Christ

Ch. 23 is consecrated to 'the ineffable birth from the Virgin'. The author conceives the descending [κατάβασις] of the infinite Word as condescending [συγκατάβασις]. The parallel of the first and the second Adam is already present in this poetically formulated chapter. Moreover, by the use of the same formula, the creation of Eve is linked with the becoming human of the Word through Virgin Mary. In Ch. 4 concerning the creation of the feminine nature, Theodoret wrote:

> Thus having formed and named him [i.e. Adam], [God] immediately created for him a helper, a coadjutor, a life-companion. Yet He [God] did not take the origin of [her] fashioning [λαμβάνει τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῆς διαπλάσεως] merely from the earth [οὐκ ἐκ μόνης δὲ τῆς γῆς], like in the case of the other [i.e. Adam], but He took one of [Adam's] ribs and using this as a groundwork and foundation He created the feminine nature [τὴν γυναικείαν φύσιν ποιεῖ] (col. 1421D-1424A).

In Ch. 23 he writes:

> He [the Word of God] moved in and prepared Himself a temple, formed the intact and pure stall; and because the first [man] served the sin, He arrived without a father, having only the earth as [his] mother. […] This is why the Only-begotten Word of God took the origin of His fashioning [τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν τῆς διαπλάσεως] only from the Virgin [ἐκ μόνης Παρθένου], and in this manner formed His untouched temple [ἀγεώργητον ναόν] and uniting it with Himself, came forth of the Virgin (col. 1460D).

One can observe the occurrence of τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῆς διαπλάσεως, that of the verb λαμβάνω as well as of (οὐκ) ἐκ μόνης. Concerning Eve's 'origin of fashioning' we are told that this happened not because the Creator was running out of prime material, but because He wanted to implant 'the bond of concord' [τὸν σύνδεσμον τῆς ὁμονοίας] into the [human] nature. In the case of the Incarnation, 'the origin of fashioning' comes only from the Virgin in order that the One who will be born might be the second Adam indeed. Thus, the creation of Eve and the conception of Christ present us with similar patterns: the one who is born or made out of the other should be of the same nature with his/her 'source', in order to be either in concord with him (in the case of Adam and Eve) or to bear the same nature with her, yet a nature without the original sin (in the case of Mary and Jesus Christ).

We can also note that in both cases the verb λαμβάνω represents the action of the Creator God (in forming Eve) and of the Word of God (in taking the origin of His own human fashioning from Mary). Since Theodoret had already shown in *De Trinitate* that the Word is the Creator Himself (see *PG* 75, 1152D-1153A), we might say that both actions of λαμβάνειν are ascribed to the same divine Person. The importance of οὐκ ἐκ μόνης δὲ τῆς γῆς in the case of Eve and the emphasis upon ἐκ μόνης Παρθένου in the case of Christ come to serve the same purpose, i.e. to underline the validity of the Pauline sentence regarding the first and the second Adam: 'The first man is of the earth, earthy' (since only Adam was made of earth, Eve not); 'the second man is the Lord from heaven' (since He was born of a woman, but without having a human father, his entire humanity being taken solely from the Virgin). This parallelism of the first and second Adam is present all the way through the Antiochene view of the *oikonomia* (Ch. 8, col. 1425D). The 'first' refers to Adam, since the author adds that this time the human nature is not formed of the earth like before, but is rather accepted [καταδεξάμενος] by the Word Himself.

It is also interesting that the role of the Holy Spirit in the conception of Christ is mentioned only allusively without any greater emphasis. The author merely says that 'the Creator [Word of God] […] announced the birth by angelic voice, explaining beforehand the mode of conception, thus dispelling the fear of the Virgin' (col. 1460CD). Without laying too much stress on this point, it is remarkable that in Theodoret's presentation of Christ's earthly life the role of the Spirit comes less into the forefront than e.g. in the theology of Theodore. These differences will occur also concerning Jesus's baptism and the Temptation-story.

The picture of Christ's virgin birth as 'the bunch of grapes rising from the earth without a wine-twig' in Ch. 23 is paralleled with the first sign and miracle given at the wedding in Cana (Ch. 25): 'thus, being untouched [ἀγεώργητος] [Himself], He furnished untouched wine [ἀγεώργητον οἶνον].[263] The wordplay of ἀγεώργητος evinces both the miracle of His birth and His being free from original sin.

The relationship between the two natures of Christ is carefully described by the author concerning the incarnation already:

> He [the Word] does not change [μεταβαλών] the divine nature into human, but unites [συνάψας] the divine with the human. Thus remaining what He was, He took on what He was not [Μένων γὰρ ὃ ἦν, ἔλαβεν ὃ οὐκ ἦν] (*PG* 75, 1426D).[264]

The main concern here is that the two uniting natures do not undergo any alteration within the process. There is no μεταβολή on either side, but rather a σύναψις or συνάφεια, which will be reinforced by the most frequently used expression, ἕνωσις.[265]

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[263] Concerning the patristic parallels of the issue discussed by Origen, Chrysostom, Cyril, Ephrem and others see Guinot, 'Les lectures patristiques grecques (IIIe-Ve s.) du miracle de Cana (Jn 2, 1-11). Constantes et développements christologiques', *SP*, 30 (1997), 28-41.

[264] Cf. with the *Confession of Phoebadius of Aginnum* (358): 'Verbum caro factum esse, non amisisse, quod fuerat, sed coepisse esse, quod non erat' (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 259-60).

[265] See also section *4.5.6 Terminology* at the end of this chapter.

This leads to the conclusion that each nature remains in essence the same as it was before the union. Here is a likely explanation for the use of neuter terms for both natures: the Word remains *what* He was and takes on *what* He was not. Nonetheless, it is the Word, who does the assuming and the uniting. We find similar examples of the kind in other parts of the treatise, where Theodoret addresses the two natures impersonally. I shall reflect on these occurrences in the subsection dealing with the subject of predication.[266]

By His incarnation the Word 'became one of the subjects, one of the threatened ones, hiding the magnificence of the Godhead within the poverty of the manhood' (Ch. 11, col. 1433C). The idea of 'the visible' and the 'hidden' in the Person of Christ will have an important role during the Temptation. After birth, the Lord 'is called Christ, which indicates both the assuming and the assumed natures' (Ch. 24, col. 1461B).[267]

The childhood and youth of Christ is presented in Ch. 24 with the author laying emphasis on the fact that 'the new and only sacrifice of the world was Himself purified' according to the law. When He was in the temple at the age of twelve,

> He somehow slowly revealed [His] divinity […] He showed that He is not only the visible [thing] [τὸ ὁρώμενον], but also God hidden [κρυπτόμενος] in the visible [thing], timeless and eternal [ὑπέρχρονος καὶ προαιώνιος], who came forth from the Father (col. 1461D).

Here the humanity is addressed in neuter, whereas the divinity in personal terms. The varying of this language shows that the Christology of Theodoret is under formation, yet an interesting pattern can be observed: he addresses the humanity in personal terms only after its union with the Word.[268]

4.4.2 The baptism of Christ

The issues concerning the baptism, temptation and passion of Christ are important since the mode of their treatment defines one's soteriology and consequently one's Christology also. Although the Temptation-story seems to be the foremost issue in *De incarnatione*, the moment of Christ's baptism and His passion cannot be ignored.

The author mentions the baptism of the Saviour for the first time in Ch. 13, before the longer exposé on the temptation, yet only in passing: 'after His baptism, the Spirit took Jesus into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil' (col. 1437D). At the end of this chapter (to which we shall return a little later) we read that the tempter had seen so many divine things concerning Him, including the utterance of the Father ('This is my beloved Son') and the grace of the Spirit coming upon Him. A fuller presentation of Jesus's baptism is given in Ch. 24:

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[266] The other two technical terms imported from Philippians 2:5-7 are 'the form of God' and 'the form of the servant', terms which are explained more fully in Ch. 10 and represent the divine and the human nature or essence. These are discussed in the section *4.5.1 The properties of both natures*.
[267] See the section *The ontological importance of 'naming'*.
[268] See section *4.5.3 The subject of predication*.

> He [Jesus] went to John the Baptist, persuaded the reluctant [John] to baptise Him, prefiguring [προτυποῖ] our baptism in the Jordan. He fulfilled the law [δίδωσι τέλος τῷ νόμῳ] and opened the gate of grace, being announced by the Father from the heavens, and attested by the presence of the [Holy] Spirit [τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος δείκνυται], then led up by the Spirit into the wilderness like into a suitable wrestling school (col. 1461D-1464A).

We find here the ideas of Christ being the 'prototype' for our baptism, His putting an end to the law by fulfilling it, thus opening ἡ θύρα τῆς χάριτος. This is a new aeon, the time of grace, in which humankind can recognise and acknowledge God not only as a lawgiver Master, but rather as merciful Father by the mediation of His Son. The issue at stake is perhaps not merely to define how is Jesus Christ who He is, but why is He who He is. Theodoret returns twice to the significance of baptism: at the end of Ch. 27 concerning the piercing of the Lord's side and the fountainhead of life emerging from there, which 'renews us in the bath and clothes [us] with the garment of immortality'. Finally, at the end of Ch. 28 he says that the Lord sent out the gift of baptism to all humankind through the apostles. He concludes:

> Baptism [i.e. our baptism] is the sketch and model [σκιαγραφία καὶ τύπος] of the Master's death. Paul says: [Romans 6:5] (col. 1469A).

The baptism of Christ as a prelude to His temptation does not occupy a very important place in Theodoret's view of the *oikonomia*. We have seen that in Ch. 13, which introduces the discussion of the Temptation-story, the baptism of the Lord is merely acknowledged, yet it is not given any further weight during the subsequent analysis. The role of the Spirit is also of less prominence in the case of Christ than in ours, including both baptism and temptations.

This almost certainly means a detachment from the heritage of Theodore, whose 'theology of baptism' lies at the heart of his soteriology. The presence of the Spirit at Jesus's baptism as well as His role in leading Christ to the wilderness and being there during the Temptation were crucial points in Theodore's theology, 'whose central datum is, in any case, not the incarnation but Jesus's baptism'. Theodore conferred a suitable role to the Spirit in the Temptation, since 'if the Spirit is allowed actively to determine the conduct of Christ's human nature, the Logos will not need to assume the function of the νοῦς; the competition between Logos and Spirit at this point worked positively, demonstrating the equality in status of these persons of the Trinity and allowing no opportunity to put the Spirit on a lower level than Father and Son'.[269]

Theodoret seems to evade successfully the problem facing Theodore in respect of the Spirit's and Word's alleged 'competition' within Christ, nevertheless, at the cost of not employing the 'soteriological fruitfulness' of the former's theology of baptism. As Abramowski rightly observed, the younger Antiochenes did not inherit Theodore's line of thought, and thus 'the theology of baptism is a feature peculiar to Theodore'.[270]

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[269] Luise Abramowski, 'The Theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia' in *Formula and Context: Studies in Early Christian Thought* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), 1-36 (pp. 34-35).
[270] Ibid., 35.

Theodore's answer, then, to the Arian-Apollinarian Λόγος–σάρξ model was the active inclusion of the Spirit in the Temptation. Theodoret, however, follows a slightly different and perhaps more vulnerable path when he tries to show the active role of Christ's human soul during His struggle with the devil.

4.4.3 The soteriological heartland of Theodoret's early Christology: the Temptation-story

As already attested by the relevant scholarship, the story of the Temptation is certainly one of the Antiochenes' preferred soteriological passages.[271] It is nonetheless interesting that the story appears only in the synoptic Gospels.[272] Without drawing sharp lines between the two traditions, it can be claimed that to a certain extent the Antiochenes relied perhaps with a little more emphasis on the synoptic tradition, whilst the Alexandrians followed John's gospel. This might explain some motives and methods of those who relied perhaps with a little more emphasis on the first three gospels whilst constructing their model of Christ. V. Kesich gives a good summary of these differences:

> The Antiocheans, like the Alexandrians, explained the temptations of Christ by contrasting them with the temptations of Adam and relating them to those of Israel in the wilderness. Nevertheless, the analogies are more stressed in the Antiochean school than in the Alexandrian.[273]

This affirmation, especially concerning the analogy between Adam and Christ is certainly valid for the Theodoret of *De incarnatione*. This parallel dominates not only the Temptation-story, but most of his soteriological thinking, exercising a major influence upon his anti-Arian and anti-Apollinarian Christology. The importance of the Temptation in Theodoret's theology is underlined by the fact that the otherwise very restricted manuscript tradition (including Marius Mercator, Nicetas of Heracleia and Euthymius Zigabenus) preserved for us almost the entire section from the beginning of Ch. 13 until the end of Ch. 17.

In Ch. 24 our author summarised very epigrammatically that the Master Christ 'defeats him [i.e. the tempter] with human wisdom and not with divine power [ἀνθρωπίνῃ φιλοσοφίᾳ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξουσίᾳ θεότητος]' (col. 1464A), showing that for him the

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[271] Among the more recent scholarship concerning the issue we could mention the following (the list is far from being exhaustive, whilst the quoted page numbers refer to the passage connected with the Temptation within each work): Abramowski, 'The Theology of Theodore', 31-34; L. Abramowski, *Untersuchungen zum Liber Heraclidis des Nestorius*, *CSCO*, 242 (Louvain: CSCO, 1963), 224-225; Milton V. Anastos, 'The Immutability of Christ and Justinian's Condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia', *DOP*, 6 (1951), 125-60 (p. 126); Clayton, 'Theodoret', 219-24; H. M. Diepen, 'Théodoret et le Dogme d' Éphèse', *RSR*, 44 (1956), 243-47, followed by the answer of Jean Daniélou on 247-48; Guinot, 'L'*Expositio* et le traité…', 58; V. Kesich, 'The Antiocheans and the Temptation Story', *SP*, 7 (1966), 496-502.

[272] The biblical narrative was preserved only in the synoptic tradition, although Mark merely summarises it without details (Mark 1:12-13). Matthew and Luke give us a fuller account of the event. The main difference between them is that Luke presents the last two attempts of the devil in inverted sequence (Matthew 4: 1-11; Luke 4: 1-13), as well as that Luke's version does not exclude a continuous forty-day temptation, whereas Matthew explicitly says that the tempter approached Christ after He had fasted for forty days. Theodoret follows Matthew's narrative in his analysis.

[273] V. Kesich, 'The Antiocheans', 497.

assumed rational soul is indeed a 'theological factor' in the atonement. He provides a juridical foundation for the Pauline analogy:

> The benefaction of our Saviour expands to the whole nature of humankind: because with [our] forefather Adam we share the curse, and like him, we all have arrived under the [power] of death; in the same way we own the victory of Christ the Saviour, and being partakers of His glory, we shall share the joy of [His] kingdom also (col. 1436BC).

By making use of Romans 5:15, which follows this passage, Theodoret connects the forensic issue (i.e. that by Adam's transgression we have all fallen under condemnation) with God's merciful act, i.e. that the salvation is effected through the victory of Christ. He nonetheless does not make the law our judge, since that would mean our eternal condemnation, but rather being in possession of our nature fulfils the law and makes us partakers in His victory. Therefore, the common link between Christ and us is His human nature.[274]

God's intention on one hand was to crown the victor and on the other hand, 'to declare the other one [i.e. Satan] defeated, to encourage and strengthen everybody against him'. As we have already mentioned, the role of the Spirit seems to cease once He has taken Christ into the wilderness, since Theodoret continues:

> Hence, not the God-Word but the temple assumed by the Word of God from the seed of David was taken [ἀνήχθη] [there]. For the Holy Spirit did not lead [ἀπήγαγε] the God-Word to battle against the devil, but the temple formed in the Virgin for the God-Word (col. 1437D).

Here we reencounter ναός, a typically Antiochene technical term describing the manhood of Christ in a similar manner like μορφὴ δούλου. The role of the Spirit is to take and lead this temple of the Word to battle. This would raise the eyebrows of Theodoret's Alexandrian contemporaries, yet the 'why' here determines the 'how' and not vice versa. The text seems to imply a separation of subjects, i.e. of the Word from His ναός formed in the Virgin. Theodoret uses this kind of language when he argues from a primarily soteriological and in this case forensic point of view: in these instances, the question 'why' almost certainly precedes the 'how'. Nevertheless, the Word controls the battle, since the Temptation is according to His will. Although the Spirit is the One leading Jesus Christ into the wilderness, this is neither against His human will (since He accepted to save humankind voluntarily), nor against His divine will (i.e. of the Word), because if it were so, that would flatly contradict Theodoret's affirmation in Ch. 26 of *De Trinitate*:

> For the Son and the Spirit participate [συνεργεῖ] in the things effected by God the Father, whereas God the Father gives His consent [συνευδοκεῖ] simultaneously to those accomplished by the Son and the Spirit (col. 1185C).

The stage is set: Theodoret will now present the story with all the analogic references possible. The picture of the first and the second Adam dominates the scene, and the

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[274] Cf. with the *Confession* of Leporius, a priest in Massilia and then (425-26) in Hippo: 'in vero humanitatis habitu factus obediens in homine, illud in se per humilitatem et obedientiam naturae nostrae restituit, quod per inobedientiam perierat in Adam' (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 301).

author is eager to show how Christ respected the rules of the contest, fulfilling all the requirements of the law, including fasting. Vindob. 300[r] of Nicetas' *Catena* preserves a sentence here, which in Vat. 841 appears only in Ch. 24 (col. 1464A). It reinforces the point that Christ νηστεύει μὲν οὐ πέρα δὲ τῶν μέτρων τῆς φύσεως (cf. *PG* 84, 77B). The text then continues in Vat. 841:

> [Jesus] spent forty days and the same number of nights without eating. He did not want to exceed the ancient measure of fasting, so that the opponent would not run away from the battle against Him, lest recognising the One who was hidden [τὸν κρυπτόμενον], he should flee the struggle against the visible (col. 1437D-1440A).

Jesus respecting the ancient measure of fasting suggests that He could have resisted more with the aid of His divinity, but this is exactly what He wanted to avoid: the Word, who is obviously present, has to remain, at least for now, κρυπτόμενος. The Word's being hidden serves a double purpose, which we could summarise as being a tactical and a forensic concern:

- That by recognising Him, the tempter does not flee from the battle;
- To allow the same human nature to finally resist Satan, since otherwise the 'οἰκονομία of the Lord' cannot be 'a common benefit for all mankind', as declared in the title of the chapter. Despite all this, the Word is in control of the human experiences, since He is the One who shows the suffering of the human nature and permits it to feel hunger after the expiration of forty days:

> Therefore, after the already mentioned number of days have passed, He shows the suffering of the human nature [τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως τὸ πάθος ὑποφαίνει], and allows hunger to occur [συγχωρεῖ τῇ πείνῃ χώραν λαβεῖν], thus giving the hold for [the devil] by famine (col. 1440A).

Satan is depicted as being familiar with the prophecies about Christ and as the careful observer of all the great moments of His earthly life, including His birth, the choir of angels, the three wise men, the Father's testimony at His baptism, as well as the resting of the Spirit upon Him. Thus, the 'hiding' of the Word together with His 'permission' for hunger to occur is meant to 'give the hold' for Satan:

> The devil was astounded by these and other similar things [in Christ's earthly life], and he did not dare to approach the champion [ἀθλητής] of our nature. But as he discovered the occurrence of hunger, saw Him needing human food, and [observed that] He cannot endure more than the old men, he came closer to Him, thinking that he had found the greatest hold, believing that he would win easily (col. 1440B).

Satan, therefore, had to be convinced that despite all the miraculous things around Him, his opponent is truly man, and he [Satan] is not fighting against God, because in that case he would have known that there was no chance for him to win the battle. The Word does not abandon the human nature, but makes Satan believe that he is fighting against a mere man. If this were a deception, the battle was not fought fairly.

It is interesting that the idea of the Word 'deceiving' Satan by being tempted Himself instead of the human nature seems to represent an issue of theodicy for Theodore, Theodoret and Pseudo-Nestorius, yet it is not a problem for Cyril and Nestorius, who both argue that the Word helped the human nature He assumed (Nestorius), or the Word was Himself tempted according to the dispensation (Cyril), yet the devil did not see this in his folly and in his totally darkened mind.[275]

The entire struggle between Christ and the devil is presented as a dramatic sporting contest in a great arena. The devil behaves like a very patient and sharp adversary: he 'examines [Christ] from a distance, trying to find the uncovered part to fling the dart there and wound the adversary.' He sees Christ 'fully armoured with complete righteousness', and 'seeks for an ideal spot to dart his spear at'. This spot is exactly the 'by the Word permitted' weakness of the human nature:

> As soon as he [Satan] noticed[276] the appearance of hunger, he daringly approached [Christ], like having found what [he was] looking for, because he observed in Him the weakness of the forefather. He [Satan] had also deprived him [Adam] of [his] untroubled life by food and harnessed him into the yoke of swelter, humiliation, and death (col. 1440C).[277]

Satan provokes Christ to reveal His divinity by urging Him to transform the stones into bread by His word. Theodoret is certain that Satan 'would not have done that if the Saviour didn't accept the suffering of hunger'. He had to learn by his own experience that Christ was 'the One foretold by all the prophets', and therefore later he could not bear even His close look, but ran away and said: 'What do you want with us, [oh] Son of God? Why did you come before time to torture us?' The attitude of Satan before and after the Temptation is what Theodoret intends to contrast here, for he writes: 'Then, before the temptation he [Satan] did not speak in this manner [i.e. like in Luke 8:28], but rather he drew near [to Jesus] very confidently, saying: "say that these stones should become bread".' This radical change in Satan's attitude towards Christ in Theodoret's view was caused by his defeat in the wilderness. That is another reason why the Temptation-story is so important, since it brought about a profound change in human history. The language of the passage is dramatically tense, the author putting these words into the tempter's mouth:

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[275] In his *Commentary on Luke*, Cyril wrote: 'Satan made use of these verses [Psalm 90] as if the Saviour were a common man [ὡς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου κοινοῦ]. Since for being in full darkness and having his mind totally darkened [...] ἠγνόησε ὅτι θεὸς ὢν ὁ Λόγος γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ οἰκονομικῶς πειραζόμενος' (*PG* 72, 533BC; cf. 529C). Nestorius's similar argument is summarised by L. Abramowski: 'Aus den *Nestoriana* kann man auch entnehmen, wie sich Nestorius die Funktion des Gott Logos beim Kampf Christi mit dem Teufel denkt. Bei Ps. Nestorius ist die Gottheit der Richter über den Kampf zwischen Jesus und Satan, sie spricht den Sieg der Menschheit zu, den diese allein, durch ihren Gehorsam und die Unterwerfung unter Gottes Willen errungen hat. Nestorius sagt dagegen, der Gott Logos habe der von ihm angenommenen menschlichen Natur geholfen, der Teufel in seiner Dummheit habe das nicht gesehen' (*Untersuchungen*, 224-25).

[276] Vat. 841 has: ὡς εἶδε (*PG* 75, 1440C), Nicetas had: ὡς εὗρεν (*PG* 84, 77D).

[277] The analogy of gluttony as the first step towards the fall is not Theodoret's invention. It appears e.g. in John Chrysostom's *Homily XIII in Matthew* (*PG* 57, 209), and also by Cyril in his Twelfth Sermon of the *Commentary on Luke*. Here the patriarch of Alexandria says: 'And observe, I pray, how the nature of man in Christ casts off the faults of Adam's gluttony: by eating we were conquered in Adam, by abstinence we conquered in Christ.' P. R. Smith, ed., *A Commentary upon Luke by Cyril*, II, 54.

> I heard the voice coming from above, he [Satan] says, which called You like this [i.e. Son of God], but I do not believe it until I receive a practical teaching. Convince me by facts that You are truly in possession of what You are called! For if I learn this, I shall run away and flee. I shall withdraw myself from the struggle against you, because I know what kind of difference is between me and You. Show then the miracle, and by the wonder teach [me] who is the author of the miracle:[278] 'say that these stones should become bread' (col. 1441A).

Jesus replies to the challenge humanly: 'upon hearing *these words of the Evil One*, *the Lord*[279] conceals [His] Godhead [κρύπτει μὲν τὴν θεότητα] and speaks from His human nature [ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπείας διαλέγεται φύσεως]'. The answer, therefore, is of the humanity relying on God's providence. The biblical parallels of Israel and the manna, Elijah, Elisha as well as of John the Baptist all converge to the same end: 'it is not unbelievable that we can be nourished by God with unknown food and do not need bread'. Such unknown food is God's own word [ῥήμα] also. In his *Commentary on Luke* Theodore had also added that this word of God was His creative power [τὴν ποιητικὴν βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ] (*PG* 66, 720B).

The 'hiding' of the Godhead shows the presence of the Word. If He were not present, He ought not to be hidden. Nevertheless, His concealment is the only way Theodoret can conceive that indeed a fair contest was fought and a true victory was accomplished over the devil by the Saviour. Certainly, as he argues further, the devil 'felt pain as being *once*[280] defeated, but he did not abandon victory, because he heard that [his opponent] was human. *For, as He says, "man does not live on bread alone"*.'[281] This sentence has two implications: from Satan's viewpoint all human beings are corruptible. Hence, Christ Himself said that 'man' does not live on bread alone. Thus, if this present opponent is truly human, he shall certainly lose the fight sooner or later. But if it comes out that He is not, then he did not fight according to the rules. This is why Christ has to answer and resist within His humanity for the second and third time also. In the end, Satan is defeated:

> Unable to bear the shame of defeat, [Satan] ran away being afraid, trembling and waiting for the abolishing of [his] tyranny. After having emptied all his darts and having brought forth all the tricks of his deceit, he found the athlete unwounded and invincible. He went to Him like to Adam [before], but he did not find whom he expected (col. 1441CD).

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[278] Here I followed Nicetas instead of Vat. 841, because it seems to construe better with Theodoret's argument. Vat. 841 reads: δεῖξον τοίνυν τὸ θαῦμα καὶ τὴν θαυματουργίαν, δίδαξον τὸν τοῦ θαύματος ποιητὴν (*PG* 75, 1441A). Nicetas had: δεῖξον τοίνυν τὸ θαῦμα, καὶ δίδαξον τῇ θαυματουργίᾳ τὸν τοῦ θαύματος ποιητήν (*PG* 84, 80B).

[279] ἀκούσας γοῦν τῶν τοῦ Πονηροῦ ῥημάτων ὁ Κύριος (see *PG* 84, 80B). Some manuscripts have γὰρ instead of γοῦν.

[280] Nicetas adds: ἅπαξ (he also has ὁ Πονηρός instead of διάβολος) - *PG* 84, 81A.

[281] Only by Nicetas: οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἄρτῳ γὰρ, φησὶ, μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος (*PG* 84, 81A).

In his *De providentia oratio* X Theodoret came to say that Satan approached Christ as Adam, but he found the Creator of Adam wrapped around with Adam's nature: προσελήλυθε μὲν ὡς τῷ ᾿Αδὰμ, εὗρε δὲ τὸν τοῦ ᾿Αδὰμ Ποιητὴν τὴν τοῦ ᾿Αδὰμ περικείμενον φύσιν (*PG* 83, 752C). The language and the dramatic mode of expression of our author has clearly changed after the Nestorian controversy, but the traditionally fundamental principles he had defended were noteworthy even if they were not always presented with unambiguous consistency.

The author is eager to show that Christ defeated the devil with 'human wisdom' and not with 'divine power'. Günter Koch argues that the entire exposé on the Temptation is described as an ideal picture of ascetic life, and that the expression ἀνθρωπίνη φιλοσοφία in Ch. 24 during this time was already used as a technical term describing the monastic form of life. As he says:

> Man kann wohl sagen, daß leben und Wirken des Herrn hier nach dem Idealbild der mönchischen, asketischen Existenz gezeichnet sind […] Der Begriff der Philosophie hat in dieser Zeit seinen Sitz im Leben vor allem im monastischen Bereich, er ist geradezu 'terminus technicus' für die monastische Lebensform.[282]

This is indeed a very interesting point, since the author of the *HR* was spiritually connected to the monastic ideal. Moreover, his birth and upbringing also attracted him towards it. Apart from the biographies written by E. Venables and Henry Newman, Shafiq AbouZayd has shown quite a number of monastic connections both in Theodoret's childhood as well as during his later years.[283] Nevertheless, the question of divine justice as well as the pastoral concern regarding our temptations in life is at least as important here as a presentation of the monastic ideal for our author.

Since God did not fight on the side of the first Adam, therefore Christ must have had the very same chances for triumph or failure as Adam, who was also instructed previously, but left to his own free will at the moment of choice. The aspect of God's impartial justice as well as the claim for a personal holiness of every believer – the tempted Lord being a true human example and stronghold of obedience – are the main forensic and pastoral concerns underlying Theodoret's dramatic exegesis of the Temptation-story. Christ's voluntary acceptance of the sufferings (Ch. 26) shows the existence of both wills in Christ, which is, in fact, an idea well ahead of Theodoret's own time. As R. V. Sellers observed,

> These [Antiochene] teachers are supremely interested in man the moral being [...] they may be called anthropologists, but their anthropology is intimately associated with their ethical and soteriological ideas.[284]

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[282] Günter Koch, *Strukturen und Geschichte des Heils in der Theologie des Theodoret von Kyros*, Frankfurter theologische Studien, 17 (Frankfurt am Main: Josef Knecht, 1974), 141.

[283] Cf. Shafiq AbouZayd, *Ihidayutha, A Study of the Life of Singleness in the Syrian Orient, From Ignatius of Antioch to Chalcedon 451 AD* (Oxford: ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies, 1993), pp. 129, 194, 268, 294, 345, 349-50, 365-68, 392-93 etc.

[284] R. V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon* (London: SPCK, 1961), 164.

Once having brought Jesus into the wilderness, the Spirit does not seem to participate in the Temptation. Nevertheless, His role is quite important in the case of our temptations. Apart from saying that 'inasmuch as He Himself [Christ] suffered being tempted, He is able to help those in temptation' (col. 1457D), Theodoret consecrates one entire chapter (33) to present the Spirit as the master [παιδοτρίβης], trainer [γυμναστής] and champion [ἀγωνιστής] in our life-struggles:

> [The Spirit is] like a vigilant protector of the believers […] a leader who teaches [how] to fight courageously against the devil. [He] gives wings to those falling to the ground, educates the earthly for the life in heaven [τοὺς γηΐνους τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν πολιτείαν παιδεύοντα], to disdain flesh [καταφρονεῖν σαρκός] and take care of the soul [ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ψυχῆς], to despise the present [διαπτύειν τὰ παρόντα] and long after the coming things [ἐφίεσθαι τῶν μελλόντων], to regard those [things] they are waiting for through faith, […] and simply to follow close after wisdom [φιλοσοφίαν μεταδιώκειν] (col. 1474C-1476A).

Thus, as opposed to the temptation of Christ, the Spirit has a prominent role in our temptations and challenges, helping us 'to follow close after wisdom', which has a wider meaning here than just 'monastic ideal', since the text above as well as the whole tract targets a Christian congregation and not merely a community of monks. Theodoret obviously preserves the Eastern Christian ideal of personal holiness – a specific type of *imitatio Christi* aided by the Holy Spirit – which he himself followed during his life. His personal life shows that the above sentences have nothing to do with either a so-called 'Gnostic' view of the body and soul or with an unnatural rejection of everything that belongs to this world. Theodoret remains a shepherd of his earthly flock with the eager wish to help it prepare for 'the coming things'. The practical guidelines to a decent Christian behaviour are intended for the believers who at present are the citizens of earthly kingdoms, yet they should behave themselves as the citizens of the heavenly society in this world already. The author tries to provide a basis for the continuation and practising of brotherly love in a world and time when he sees the 'tempest' coming upon the Church as he himself will write a year later to the Eastern monks. The longing for the αἰὼν μέλλων promised by the resurrected Lord for which the Holy Spirit prepares His people is a further sign of this pastoral concern, which seems to govern most of his approach to the *oikonomia*. Perhaps it is not superfluous to refer back to Sellers' quoted remark.

4.4.4 The passion, death and resurrection of Christ

Theodoret emphasises in the entire Ch. 26 that Christ proceeded willingly towards the predicted or prescribed sufferings [τοῖς ἀναγράπτοις πάθεσιν]. This refers both to the prophecies and to the Lord's own predicaments:

> He forecast these several times for the disciples, and even rebuked Peter for not receiving with delight the good news of the sufferings [τὰ τῶν παθῶν εὐαγγέλια], and explained that through these the salvation of the world will be effected (col. 1465B).

The suffering of Christ is nothing less than εὐαγγέλιον which ought to be received with extreme joy. The description of the Lord's sufferings has a gradually intensifying character, yet the conclusion is a shout of victory: 'by enduring these, He achieved our salvation' (col. 1465D). Every moment in Christ's passion is given a special significance. The closure of Ch. 27 brings the author perhaps closer than ever to the Alexandrian allegorising tendency; at the same time the pastoral motives as well as the ever-recurrent Adam-Christ-typology are emphatically present:

> By the cross He repealed the sentence of the ancient curse (for [Paul] says: [Galatians 3:13 and Deuteronomy 21:23]. By the thorns He brought an end to the punishments of Adam (because after the sin it was heard [Genesis 3:17-18]. With the bile He took onto Himself the bitterness and toil of the mortal and passible human life, whereas by the vinegar He accepted the changing of humankind to the worse while endowing the way of returning to the better. He signified [His] kingship by the scarlet and by the reed He alluded to the weakness and frailty of the devil's power. By the slaps [on His face] He proclaimed our deliverance, enduring our injuries, chastisements and lashings. His side was pierced like Adam's, yet showing not the woman coming forth from there, who by deceit begot death, but the fountainhead of life, which by [its] double stream vivifies the world. One of these renews us in the bath and clothes [us] with the garment of immortality, the other nourishes the (re)born at the divine table, as the milk nurtures the infants (col. 1465D-1468B).

Apart from the neatly applied allegories we find here a remarkable parallel of the first and second Adam, each of them being pierced on the side. Although concerning the role of Eve in the fall of humankind Theodoret follows Paul's line of argumentation in 1 Timothy 2:14, the clear distinction between Adam and Jesus shows that the former himself is regarded as the originator of death, whereas the crucified Lord grants us eternal life. The blood and the water pouring out of His side (John 19:34) become the symbols of communion and baptism.

Taken as a whole, then, Theodoret's view of the *oikonomia* – including the temptation and the passions of Christ – is not merely a moralising theology in which Christ is only the good or perfect human example to be followed. He is indeed the simultaneously divine and human Saviour of the world and of humankind, whereas His achievement (i.e. the entire work of salvation) and the gift of the Spirit given to His flock is the guarantee and encouragement that His example can truly be followed. The last section we have quoted exemplifies eloquently that without the battle fought and won by Christ every human effort to obey God would be doomed to failure from the very outset. The expressiveness by which Theodoret describes and parallels the temptation and passions of Christ with our sufferings serves one central purpose: to show that our will to follow God is already the result of Christ's accomplishment, which is the token of our success. The reason why one may indeed hope to succeed is the awareness that the battle had been won already – and not by us. For this victory – which is ours indeed, yet not as a result of our own efforts but through gracious attribution – we owe Christ an eternal gratitude which can best be expressed by our continuous zeal to follow Him. Thus, our obedience

is most emphatically not the payment for our sins – since that had already been completed by Christ – but rather a life-lasting expression of this thankfulness.

It is then perhaps fair to conclude that whenever Theodoret emphasises the accomplishment of Christ's human nature in the atonement he does not do it with the intention to diminish His divinity but rather to prepare the ground for the attribution of His victory to us by the means of the common human nature (soteriological point) as well as to encourage and ensure all the believers that obedience is the only way and it is attainable, since Christ 'showed that in human nature it is possible to overcome the arrows of sin' (col. 1429B) (pastoral point). This seems to me the proper starting point for the analysis of Theodoret's Christological model and the right way to interpret faithfully his own intention formulated in Ch. 1 (col. 1420B).

4.5 Theodoret's Christological model: Two natures – One Person

The analysis of Theodoret's Christological model will be carried out in the following sequence: first I shall investigate Theodoret's understanding of the properties of both natures considering also his attitude towards *communicatio idiomatum*. Then comes the discussion of the ontological significance of 'naming' throughout both treatises in general and referring to Christ in particular. It will be followed by an examination of the subject of predication within the Person of Christ, special consideration being given to the concrete designations for the human nature such as 'the temple', 'the form of the servant' etc. In the concluding part I shall highlight the issue of the union of worship and provide a terminological overview of Theodoret's Christology.

4.5.1 The properties of both natures

It is a well known and widely shared scholarly opinion that the prominent figures of the Antiochene school had laid strong emphasis upon the unimpaired and distinct properties of the two natures within Jesus Christ. Theodoret inherited this from his masters, Diodore and Theodore. Therefore, in his Christology one may expect and indeed find a consistent accentuation of the 'retained properties'. The fundamental point behind this concept is the awareness that the union of the human nature with the Word involves a relationship between a created and an uncreated reality utterly unique and unrepeatable in the history of the world.

The basic difference between the two natures is therefore seen from the perspective of their origin, i.e. through unconditioned self-existence and creation respectively. This is why our author was so eager to evince the differences between Creator and creation in *De Trinitate*; this is why one encounters regularly the usual antonyms within his Christological descriptions: 'created-uncreated', 'mortal-immortal', 'corruptible-incorruptible', 'passible-impassible', 'temporal-eternal', 'humble-glorious', 'inferior-superior', 'changing-unchanging', 'alterable-unalterable' etc.

Whilst discussing the reasons behind the emphasis laid upon the difference between the properties of the natures one element must be given special attention, namely the notion of divine impassibility. The eagerness of earlier fathers and thus of Theodoret to maintain

the impassible character of the Word and of the divine φύσις and οὐσία of the Trinity was addressed on several occasions by modern scholarship, frequently resulting in a negative judgement.[285] It was perhaps too often suggested also that the entire idea of God's impassibility is alien to Christian doctrine and was chiefly a servile adoption of Greek philosophy by the Antiochenes.[286]

Regarding Theodoret's oeuvre in general and *De incarnatione* in particular I assess that an adopted philosophical main argument concerning divine impassibility is too weak a ground to motivate all his Christological concerns. The emphasis upon the full humanity of Christ as the common link between Him and us seems to occupy at least an equally important place within his theological system, as is evident for example in the Temptation-story. We shall see it in the section concerning the subject of predication also.

Further, I am not entirely convinced that the widespread charge of exclusive philosophical origin of divine ἀπάθεια adopted indeed by most fathers is a fully valid one. As H. Chadwick already suggested, the effect and importance of the centuries-long Christian criticism of the pagan gods possessed by human weaknesses and passions cannot be ignored.[287] This is obviously true in a more accentuated manner for the author of the *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, which is widely regarded as being the last great early Christian apologetic work. It seems to construe better with Theodoret's thinking that beside his awareness of the issue's philosophical implications, his idea of God's impassibility is aimed also at preserving, as it were, God's moral integrity over against the pagan gods, who are subject to all kinds of passions. Kallistos T. Ware provides a very interesting account of Theodoret's concept of human πάθος together with its philosophical connections (including Plato, Aristotle and even Philo), yet he does not conclude that the entire theological thinking of the Bishop of Cyrus was necessarily under the influence of philosophy to the extent to which I think John J. O'Keefe suggested it to be.[288]

There is another aspect of the issue concerning divine impassibility which I reckon was often ignored or not investigated in detail, especially when formulated as a charge against Antiochene Christology. Although it sounds almost absurd, the question relates to the proper meaning of divine ἀπάθεια itself. Those who condemn this term often interpret it as being unsuitable for God, since it removes His ability for compassion, pity, love etc. The chief misunderstanding here is that God's ἀπάθεια as it appears in Theodoret has

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[285] See e.g. Clayton, 'Theodoret', p. VI.

[286] The idea of divine impassibility as a result of philosophical adoptions is to some extent accepted by M. Slusser, 'The Scope of Patripassianism', *SP*, 17 (1982), 169-75 (p. 174). Further, see the following observations of O'Keefe: 'In a way, Theodoret's philosophical commitments drive his reading of the biblical text. [...] Theodoret's intellectual commitment to divine impassibility made it impossible for him to rest in the paradox of the incarnation. […] The Antiochene position interprets the [biblical] text in the light of philosophy, the Alexandrian position interprets the philosophy in the light of the text.' See O'Keefe, 'Kenosis or Impassibility', 359, 364-65. It seems to me that O'Keefe is largely reading back his contemporary American 'historical critical model' – which he disagrees with probably in the same measure as I do – into the writings of the Antiochenes, whom this new trend in my opinion unjustifiably considers as being its forerunners. Paradoxically, O'Keefe asserts: 'It seems to me that despite our best efforts we always find in ancient texts something that reminds us of ourselves' (364).

[287] Chadwick, 'Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian Controversy', *JTS*, 2 (1951), 145-64 (p.158).

[288] Ware, 'The Meaning of "Pathos" in Abba Isaias and Theodoret of Cyrus', *SP*, 20 (1989), 315-22.

nothing to do with the English word 'apathy'. If any of the ancient theologians could express vividly God's mercy towards humankind to the extent of sending His own Son to the cross, the Bishop of Cyrus was surely one of them. His idea of divine ἀπάθεια does not imply by any means God's incapability of partaking in our sufferings, even less His lack of empathy. This suggestion is contradicted e.g. by Chs. 7, 8, 13, 26, as well as by Ch. 23, where the entire motive of the *oikonomia* is God's commiseration with the fallen humankind.

The meaning of the term is rather different: it also targets the passions to which human beings and pagan gods are subjected, but more importantly it concerns God's immutability. If God – and thus the Word of God, i.e. Christ also – could be shown as being 'passionate' in the sense of being influenced by the moment and not rather being 'the same yesterday, today and forever', then He would unavoidably be subject to time (since changes happen in time), and would cease to be eternal and absolute. This indeed has nothing to do with His empathy towards us, since these are part of His very own eternal self and not brought about by some turn of events. His very nature is to love His creation and does not need 'passion' to bring this feeling about. In fact, commiseration is the immutable and consistent character of His own Person, since He is merciful even when having to reprehend and He 'mixes the punishment with philanthropy' (col. 1424D). Thus, His ἀπάθεια rather means that His love towards humankind never ceases, since He does not change. The term is rather meant to safeguard the integrity of the immutable, almighty and by nature merciful God.

The fact that the idea of God's impassibility was not a peculiar character of Antiochene theology but rather a common feature of patristic thought could be documented in some length. In lack of space I shall provide only two representative examples. The first one is Pope Leo's *Tomus ad Flavianum* 4:

> [Filius Dei] impassibilis Deus non dedignatus est homo esse passibilis, et immortalis mortis legibus subiacere (*ACO* II, 2, 1, 28).[289]

Cyril of Alexandria, often held as the champion of 'orthodox theopaschism', in his *Epistola dogmatica ad Nestorium* writes:

> οὐχ ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου παθόντος εἰς ἰδίαν φύσιν ἢ πληγὰς ἢ διατρήσεις ἤλων ἢ γοῦν τὰ ἕτερα τῶν τραυμάτων· ἀπαθὲς γὰρ τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι καὶ ἀσώματον (*ACO* I, 1, 1, 27; cf. II, 1, 1, 105).

Returning now to the analysis of Theodoret's Christological model, in order to perceive his understanding of the properties of both natures we have to analyse his interpretation of the difference between μορφὴ θεοῦ and μορφὴ δούλου. We ought to do this the more so since the author himself observes that each of the heretics (i.e. Arius, Eunomius, Apollinaris, Marcion and Mani) 'establishes his audacious and false doctrine based on the appropriation of this [of Philippians 2:5-7]' (col. 1428B). In Theodoret's view concerning

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[289] Cf. with Anathema 7 attached to the *Creed* of the First Synod of Toledo held in the year 400 against Priscillianism: 'Si quis dixerit vel crediderit, deitatem Christi convertibilem esse vel passibilem, anathema sit' (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 212). Cf. with the *Confession* of Leporius: 'Inconvertibilem enim et incommutabilem et impassibilem naturam divinitatis jam superius professi sumus' (Ibid., 300).

their concept of two 'forms' Arius, Eunomius, Apollinaris and their followers form one group, since they 'declare, that the [Pauline expressions] "form of a servant", the "fashion" [τὸ σχῆμα] and the "likeness of man" [τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου] signify the visible [side] of our nature [τὸ φαινόμενον τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως]':

> From this [Philippians 2:5-7] it is clear, that the form of God remained what it was [ὃ ἦν], but also took [ἔλαβε] the form of the servant. And he calls 'form' not only the appearance [τὸ φαινόμενον] of the man, but the entire human nature. Therefore, as the form of God signifies the essence of God, since the Godhead is formless and shapeless, […] thus, the form of the servant does not indicate only this visible [thing], but the whole essence of the human being (col. 1425D-1428A).

We observe the careful distinction between the uniting uncreated and created οὐσίαι, a distinction almost impossible e.g. for Apollinaris. The use of impersonal terms for both natures have their Pauline origin. The acting subject of Philippians 2:5-7 is 'Christ Jesus', who is already [ὑπάρχων] in the form of God, and takes on [λαβών] the form of the servant. Following this pattern, Theodoret applies these two 'forms' to the οὐσίαι of the Godhead and of the manhood. He therefore has to speak in impersonal terms about the two 'forms' (as Paul himself does), since an οὐσία or a φύσις does not have a personal quality in itself. The question whether the one Person of Jesus Christ is therefore a *tertium quid* or not in Theodoret's vision will be discussed in some detail in Chs. 10, 21 and 32 of *De incarnatione*.[290] In Ch. 10 we find an argument similar to the explanation of the difference between ἦν and ἐγένετο already encountered in *De Trinitate*:

> [Paul] does not say that 'He was made [γενόμενος] in the form of God', but that 'He was [ὑπάρχων] in the form of God'. Neither does he say, that [Christ] thought it no robbery to be equal with Himself or equal with angels or equal with the creation, but he rather says [that he thought it not robbery to be] equal with God the Father, with [His] Begetter, the unbegun, the unbegotten, the infinite, the Master of all (col. 1429CD).

The above passage carries the same meaning as Ch. 6 and especially the end of Ch. 8 of *De Trinitate*. In Theodoret's mind the sequence of ἦν, of ὑπάρχων in comparison with ἐγένετο is the only way that the Incarnation can be conceived and the salvation could be successful. This is important in order to assure the prevalence of the Word both in the act of the Incarnation and of salvation. The idea concerning the difference of the natures within the union bound together with the antithesis of 'is' and 'became' returns once again in Ch. 21:

> 'To become' [γενέσθαι] is contrary to 'to be' [εἶναι], because who is the brightness of the glory and the express image of [God's] Person, did not *become* better than the angels, but *is* better than them, far more than that: [He is] their Creator and Master also. But if 'is' is opposite to 'became', then under the former we understand the eternal One [τὸν ἀεὶ ὄντα], and under the latter that which was assumed from us [τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀναληφθέν] and became

[290] See also the section *Rejection of misleading terms and the 'image' of the oikonomia* of this chapter.

> superior to the angels by its union [διὰ ἕνωσιν] with the One, who assumed it (col. 1456AB).

This passage together with maintaining the different properties of the natures according to the ἐνέργειαι addresses the Word in personal, whereas the assumed humanity in impersonal terms. One indeed cannot say that Theodoret is consistent in doing this throughout *De incarnatione*, yet his usage of terms is sometimes motivated by the biblical source (like Philippians 2:5-7) and also by his eagerness to counterbalance the Arian-Apollinarian static picture of Christ's humanity, which is inadequate for the soteriological and pastoral goals of the Bishop of Cyrus. Apollinaris did not recognise Christ's true humanity: Arius denied His true divinity. Or, as L. Vanyó had more accurately put it: 'The crossing point of the theology of Apollinaris and of Arius is that whilst Arius united the lessened Godhead with the diminished manhood, Apollinaris united the full Godhead with the diminished manhood.'[291] Thus, both heresies operate with a similarly diminished manhood of Christ. Theodoret's occasional practice to render the Saviour's human nature in concrete terms could partly be interpreted as a reaction to this incomplete human model of Christ.

An interesting parallel, though, is noteworthy. When refuting 'the false-named Paul' – who unlike Arius and Apollinaris admitted the full humanity of Christ, yet denied His full divinity – the author renders the Word in personal terms, whilst referring to the humanity in an impersonal manner:

> [Paul of Samosata] on one hand denied the begetting of the Saviour before the ages, and on the other hand, according to the Jewish thinking, confessed only the [birth] from the Virgin. Hence the divine Paul teaches that the Word of God is the One who assumes, and the human nature is that which was assumed [τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν τὴν ληφθεῖσαν]; that the form of God is the pre-existent, and the form of the servant is that which was assumed by [the form of God] [ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης] in the fullness of the times' (col. 1432A).

It seems on occasion that the use of personal or impersonal terms is partly motivated by the heretical trend against which a certain passage is directed. Moreover, the author equals unreservedly the Word of God with the Pauline μορφὴ θεοῦ, thus personifying it by the ascription of all the actions of the Word.

Once he had defined the terms he is operating with, our author employs them accordingly. Thus, 'the form of God', being the οὐσία of God, is sometimes used to represent the Word acting in His divine essence. The same goes for the form of the servant denoting the human nature. The above passage is a good example for this: the active subject is the Word (addressed in concrete terms), and the object is the human nature (addressed in impersonal terms). In the concluding sentence, which is to some extent a repetitive confirmation of the first, Theodoret uses 'the form of God' as being the active subject (as an equivalent for the Word's divine essence), whereas the form of the servant replaces the human nature, addressed again in impersonal terms. This alternate

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[291] Vanyó László, *Bevezetés az ókeresztény kor dogmatörténetébe (Introduction to the Doctrinal History of the Early Christian Era)* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1998), 368.

way of speaking has both its benefits and its dangers. On one hand it helps the author to distinguish between the human and the divine attributes of the One Person. On the other hand, it raises the suspicion of those who in such language might sense a divisive tendency. What we can observe here is that in order to elucidate some of his mainly soteriological points, Theodoret often feels compelled to use this kind of language together with its more or less obvious deficiencies.

The preservation of the attributes of both natures involves our author's insistence upon the fact that before, during and after the incarnation neither of the natures were subject to change. Notably, he raises this point both against Arius and Apollinaris:

> Apollinaris, together with Arius and Eunomius can learn again, that the unchangeable God-Word was not changed into the nature of the flesh [οὐχ ὁ θεὸς Λόγος ὁ ἄτρεπτος εἰς σαρκὸς φύσιν ἐτράπη], but by assuming our essence, He achieved our salvation (col. 1432A).

Here again, the Word is the active subject of the Incarnation and of the salvation, although the author wants to make a distinction between the unchanging and uncreated divine nature of the Word and that of the created human flesh. The refusal of any τροπή of the Word rejected again in Ch. 32 is meant to uphold His divine impassibility and immutability, yet without denying Him the achievement of salvation. The language often depends on the viewpoint of the author. When he looks at the Person of Christ and at His work, he sees the union (looking, as it were, at the whole picture from outside), whereas when he enters the details and the internal 'how'-s of one particular issue involving the participation of both natures on different levels (e.g. ontological or attributive), he is more likely to spot the specific properties of the natures. Whilst no alteration of the Word is admitted, the assumed human nature undergoes a positive change after resurrection. Theodoret puts the following words into the mouth of the resurrected Master Christ:

> He says, 'in this way, the nature assumed from you has obtained the resurrection by the indwelling [ἐνοικήσει] of and union [ἑνώσει] with the Godhead, having put off the corruptible [τὸ φθαρτόν] together with the passions, entered into incorruptibility and immortality. In the same way you also shall be released from the burden of the slavery of death, and having cast off corruption together with the passions [σὺν τοῖς πάθεσιν], you shall put on impassibility [τὴν ἀπάθειαν]' (col.1468D).

I shall return to the expressions 'indwelling' and 'union' in the terminological section. Nevertheless, the change of the human nature is quite interesting: it entered [μετέβη] into incorruptibility and immortality to prefigure our glorious redemption. Christ donates to His redeemed people something that since the expulsion from Eden was characteristic to the Godhead only, putting humankind back into the stage it had been before the fall. This is not at all alien from the Athanasian idea of God becoming human to make us divine or Augustine's thought concerning the four stages of humankind according to which after glorification one is unable to commit sin. Whilst the immutability of the Word has to be upheld, the change of our nature after redemption is required in order for us to enter God's kingdom. Thus, the divine quality of being exempt from passions, which is the primary meaning of ἀπάθεια for Theodoret, is passed onto the human nature – this is

perhaps one of the very few occasions when Theodoret can be said to profess a kind of *communicatio idiomatum*. The admonition at the end of Ch. 34 refers again to this received quality: 'We shall be taught [to perceive] perfection, when we shall not be harmed by imposture, nor fallen into boasting, but we shall live free from passions'.[292]

The roles of the terms applied in the Trinitarian doctrine are reversed. There the ὑπόστασις and the πρόσωπον carried τὰ ἴδια of the divine Persons; in Christology the οὐσία and the φύσις fulfil the same duty. Theodoret sees no other way to preserve these attributes than to reject any notion involving the alteration of the Word. That is why both οὐσίαι must remain within their own ὅροι – not to restrict as it were the Word's field of action but rather to exclude the result of Christ becoming a *tertium quid* out of the confusion of the two natures.

4.5.2 Communicatio idiomatum or communicatio onomaton?

The Bishop of Cyrus does not seem to admit or profess any kind of *communicatio idiomatum* between the two natures of Christ. The one I have mentioned above refers to the manhood receiving impassibility after redemption and thus is not directly related to the general idea of the communication of properties, which is usually applied for the actions and deeds performed by Jesus Christ before His death and resurrection. Clayton did not find any evidence of *communicatio idiomatum* in Theodoret's oeuvre and recognises this as a main defect of his Christology. His argument is that the Bishop of Cyrus merely taught a *communicatio onomaton*, i.e. a communication of names and titles which were applied to the common prosopon or outward countenance of Christ instead of a real union.[293] Before addressing the issue of 'naming' in the tract it is important to assess the validity of the idea concerning the communication of properties in Theodoret's own time.

I would like to start the discussion with an example. The already quoted passage from *De Trinitate* about the Father sending the Son into the world reads:

> But if the Father and the Son fill all, then neither did the Father send the Son to those whom He apparently was away from, nor did the Son go from one specific place to another. Thus nothing remains, but that the sending [of Christ] is to be taken as referring to the assumed manhood [οὐκοῦν λείπεται νοεῖν τῆς ἀναληφθείσης ἀνθρωπότητος τὴν ἀποστολὴν εἶναι] (*PG* 75, 1168D-1169A).

The issue at stake is the Word's divine omnipresence. As we have seen, the descending [κατάβασις] of the Word is meant as condescending [συγκατάβασις] in Ch. 23 of *De incarnatione*. It appears that the property of omnipresence was not given to the manhood, whereas the property of being limited in one place was not given to the Word. Therefore

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[292] The phrase ἐν ἀπαθείᾳ βιωσόμεθα is not some kind of 'apathy'. Among the benefactions of Christ is the deliverance of mankind from under the tyranny of sin and suffering. Therefore, in God's kingdom, we shall also be 'impassible' [i.e. free from torment] as our Lord Himself. Clayton seems to miss the point behind Theodoret's use of the term (Clayton, 'Theodoret', 244).

[293] Clayton, 'Theodoret', pp. VI, 232-42 etc.

it can be said that the sending refers to the assumed nature. Does this necessarily result in the manhood becoming a second personal entity within the Person of the Incarnate? Theodoret would probably have rejected any such thought. Apart from the manhood being addressed as an object, this passage also suggests that the Logos is united with the assumed human nature, nevertheless, He is not confined or restricted by it. This does not presuppose a necessary division in the mind of the author. It is rather his understanding of the Word being sent into the world as human in opposition to either His being *transformed* into human (if we accept the Word's οὐσία being limited by the οὐσία of the manhood), or to the *deification* of the manhood (if we uphold Christ's fleshly omnipresence). The Word in His infinite divine nature cannot be said to move place, yet the assumed manhood – with which the Word is inseparably united – can. Theodoret's reasoning here points far into the future, anticipating a much later argument concerning the acceptance or rejection of Christ's fleshly omnipresence, i.e. the famous *extra Calvinisticum*.[294] The *communicatio idiomatum* therefore does not take place, except in the verbal sense, i.e. Scripture says that the Father sent the Son – which it could only affirm of the Son incarnate, yet still of the Son. This differentiation between the Scriptural and doctrinal *communicatio idiomatum* will become more obvious in the sixteenth century concerning the 'figura loquendi' of the Holy Spirit, as the Helvetic Reformers labelled *communicatio idiomatum*, interpreting it exegetically.[295]

Before continuing, we ought to address a related issue. It can be argued that *communicatio idiomatum* is not a mere exchange of the properties between the Word and the manhood but rather the attribution of the properties of both natures to the one subject of the incarnation, i.e. to the ὑπόστασις of the Word. Although this argument may be valid indeed, yet it is inapplicable in the time and the case of Theodoret. First, the doctrine concerning the communication of properties could hardly be considered as elaborated to such a refined degree in the fifth century. Further, the term ὑπόστασις was not part of Theodoret's Christological vocabulary, since it had been introduced into the theology of the Incarnation by none else than Apollinaris himself, who remained the only theologian using it in Christology before Cyril.[296] Grillmeier's following observation remains therefore conclusive:

> Right up to the Council of Chalcedon, none of the strictly orthodox theologians succeeded in laying the foundations for such a vindication in the form of a speculative analysis [i.e. that *communicatio idiomatum* was, in fact, a valid standard] (*Christ in Christian Tradition*, 436).

In assessing Theodoret's Christological ideas – or in fact anyone else's – two aspects ought to be considered: on one hand, to understand him within his own heritage; on the

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[294] I think it is not an exaggeration to say that Theodoret anticipates here the very basis of Helvetic Reformed Christology. This argument shall resound in e.g. Question 48 of the *Heidelberg Catechism*.

[295] See e.g Bullinger's following interpretation of *communicatio idiomatum*: 'Haec figura loquendi appellatur ab aliis ἀλλοίωσις alteratio vel mutatio, a Ioan. Damasceno ἀντίδοσις mutua largitio vel alternata attributio. Vulgo nominari solet idiomatum communicatio, nempe cum alteri naturae ea proprietas communicatur, quae propria est alterius'. Heinrich Bullinger, *Sermonum Decades Quinque, De potissimis Christianae religionis capitibus* (Zürich: 1557), Dec. 4, Sermo 6, 235a.

[296] See the section *4.5.6 Terminology* at the end of this chapter.

other hand, to measure him against the recognised theological standards of his own time. The first point is important in order to see whether he remained faithful to the tradition he inherited, or if not, to what extent he broke away from it. The second point is necessary in order to avoid passing anachronistic charges.

Concerning Theodoret's accordance with his own theological heritage we can say that he is very much inside the tradition which professed the unmingled preservation of the properties of both natures. Amphilochius of Iconium had already taught: ἀποσώζων ἐν αὐτῷ [i.e. in Christ] τῶν δύο φύσεων τῶν ἑτερουσίων ἀσύγχυτον τὴν ἰδιότητα.[297]

In order to comply with the second point of our assessment we need to investigate the valid theological standards which would give us an idea concerning the generally accepted contemporary attitude towards the issue of *communicatio idiomatum*. The most obvious one is the *Chalcedonense* itself, which apart from the famous four adverbs [ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως] asserts clearly:

> οὐδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνῃρημένης διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, σωζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἰδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως (*Denz*. 302; cf. Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 166-67).[298]

Although the grammatical structure and the recurring 'One and the same' in the *Chalcedonense* may involve a certain assumption concerning an early form of *communicatio idiomatum*, this is rather the safeguarding of the unity of the Person (which neither side disputed) and not a starting basis for claiming the validity of *communicatio idiomatum* – as we have it e.g. in John of Damascus and Thomas Aquinas – as a recognised standard in 451. What the *Chalcedonense* primarily claims is that 'the One and the same' is the subject of all actions, nevertheless, without the slightest impairment done to the properties of either nature. The words οὐδαμοῦ and μᾶλλον in the above passage – together with the four adverbs – clearly express this emphasis. Thus, the union does not remove the differences of the natures at all – or in no way [οὐδαμοῦ] – but rather [μᾶλλον] the property of each is preserved.

The other universally acknowledged contemporary source, validated by the same council and which also discusses the issue, is Leo's *Tome* 3:

> *Salva igitur proprietate utriusque naturae et substantiae*,[299] et in unam coëunte personam, suscepta est a maiestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab aeternitate mortalitas. […] In integra ergo veri hominis perfectaque natura verus natus est Deus, totus in suis, totus in nostris. […] Proinde qui manens in forma Dei fecit hominem, idem in forma servi factus est homo. *Tenet enim*

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[297] See M. J. Rouet de Journel, *Enchiridion Patristicum* (Freiburg: Herder, 1922), 407.

[298] An interesting parallelism is notable between this passage of the *Chalcedonense* and Cyril's *Epistola dogmatica* to Nestorius. His text does not allow (at least verbally) a *communicatio idiomatum* either. Although the second part of the passage in his letter differs from the *Definition*, yet even there we do not find a clear statement of an exchange of properties: οὐχ ὡς τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνῃρημένης διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, ἀποτελεσασῶν δὲ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν τὸν ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ Υἱὸν, θεότητός τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, διὰ τῆς ἀφράστου καὶ ἀποῤῥήτου τρὸς ἑνότητα συνδρομῆς (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 311).

[299] As shown by L. Abramowski, the idea derives from Tertullian, *Adversus Praxean* c. 27, 11 (*CSEL* 47, 281-82): 'et adeo salva est utriusque proprietas substantiae'. Abramowski, 'Συνάφεια', 68.

> *sine defectu proprietatem suam utraque natura*; et sicut formam servi Dei forma non adimit, ita formam Dei servi forma non minuit (*ACO* II, 2, 1, 27 – my italics).

The limits of the present work do not permit a deeper investigation of the matter, yet the gathered authoritative evidence is unambiguous. In the first half of the fifth century and even in 451 both the theological heritage of Theodoret and the universally accepted standards of faith pronounced themselves clearly against any idea which later became known as *communicatio idiomatum*. Further, apart from the impressive elaboration of this doctrine by John of Damascus and especially by Thomas Aquinas, no ecumenical or regional church council has ever included this teaching among the elements of *fides recta*. Therefore, it is fair to determine that a charge brought against any theologian of the Ephesian-Chalcedonian period concerning their failure to apply this doctrine in their Christology is anachronistic. The profession of such a teaching in those years would most certainly have raised the suspicion of one's mingling or confusing the natures.[300] The later theological development accepted *communicatio idiomatum*, although its application differs quite notably even in the sixteenth century,[301] nevertheless the reading back of its elaborated arguments into this early period is unacceptable.

One idea, however, which is present at the beginning of Ch. 30 in *De incarnatione* (col. 1469D) concerning the Word appropriating [οἰκειοῦται] 'the wretchedness [τὴν εὐτέλειαν] of the form of the servant', still deserves a brief attention. I shall quote the whole passage below in relation with the ontological importance of 'naming'. The sentence ὁ θεὸς Λόγος οἰκειοῦται τῆς τοῦ δούλου μορφῆς τὴν εὐτέλειαν is arguably an important step towards the subsequently developed idea of the communication of properties. This does not necessarily mean that Theodoret applied this helping doctrine in his Christology with all its later emphases, but rather that the unity of subject in Christ was a true concern for him also. This 'appropriation' of the human weaknesses by the Word also shows how the 'One who was hidden' during the temptation on one hand 'did not fight together with the wrestler', yet, on the other hand He did not abandon the human nature, but in a certain sense He rather participated in its suffering, i.e. by this peculiar οἰκείωσις. The fact that this idea of 'appropriation' is not a *hapax legomenon* in Theodoret is proven by his *Commentary on Isaiah* 17:58-59:

> ἔδειξε [τὴν] φύσιν τὴν δεξαμένην τὸ πάθος· τὸ σῶμα γὰρ τῷ σταυρῷ προσηλώθη, ἡ δὲ θεότης ᾠκειοῦτο τὸ πάθος (*SC* 315).

Having thus addressed the question of *communicatio idiomatum* we can proceed now to analyse Theodoret's peculiar way of handling the names, titles and appellations referring to Jesus Christ – which Clayton labelled as a *communicatio onomaton*.

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[300] It is this reading of the 'union' which the *Chalcedonense* seeks to avoid in the quoted passage.

[301] In lack of space I cannot elaborate here the differences between Luther's and Calvin's Christology, yet the former is undoubtedly closer to the Alexandrian, whilst the latter to the Antiochene position.

The ontological importance of 'naming'

During the analysis of *De Trinitate* I have already emphasised the theological relevance of 'naming' for our author. A name is not a mere epithet for Theodoret: it is ontologically proper to its bearer and thus becomes a theological statement whenever it is applied, especially if the appellation derives from Scripture. The name often 'teaches' us something. Perhaps it is useful to review a few representative occurrences of 'naming' from the first tract with a little paraphrase:

> Ch. 4: [God the Father] since ever He is – yet He is eternally – Father He both is and is called [ἀφ᾽ οὗπερ ἔστιν ἀεὶ δὲ ἔστι, Πατὴρ καὶ ἔστι καὶ καλεῖται] (col. 1152A). – If He is called so, He is Father indeed.
>
> Ch. 6: [the apostles] labelled [προσηγόρευσαν] nowhere [in the Scripture] the honourable Child [γέννημα] of God a creature [κτίσμα] (col. 1153B). – If they did not label Him a creature, He is not a creature.
>
> Ch. 10: The Word is also named [ὀνομάζεται] Son […] He is called [καλεῖται] God as well […] the term Firstborn is the name of the *oikonomia* (col. 1157D-1160A). – Thus, the Word is both Son and God.
>
> Ch. 11: That is why [the Scripture] uses these names [of Father and Son] so that from them we would learn the sameness [of their holders] [ἵνα ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων μάθωμεν τὴν ταυτότητα] (col. 1161C). – The names themselves teach us the sameness.
>
> Ch. 24: If those who received the grace of the Spirit in a greater or smaller measure are indeed called [ὀνομάζονται] temples of God, from this appellation we shall conclude that [the Holy Spirit] is akin [to the Father and the Son] [ἐκ τῆς προσηγορίας νοήσομεν τὴν συγγένειαν] (col. 1181D). – This is one of the most eloquent examples showing the extent of the ontological relevance of biblical appellations.
>
> Title of Ch. 27: ὅτι ἀκτίστως ἐκ θεοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, διὸ καὶ αἰώνιον καλεῖται (col. 1188A). – The Spirit is eternal, because the Scripture calls Him so.

These examples already give an impression about Theodoret's biblical rationale: if Scripture uses a specific name to denote a person, this ought to be taken as being appropriate in an ontological sense also. 'Naming' is present throughout the second treatise and not only concerning Jesus Christ. The variety of verbs used is noteworthy: ἀποκαλέω, διδάσκω, καλέω, λέγω, ὀνομάζω, προσαγορεύω, χρηματίζω. I shall present a few representative examples from *De incarnatione*.

Ch. 3 of *De incarnatione* is consecrated to the explanation of Adam's naming. Based on the Hebrew meaning of 'adamah' our author argues that after having created man in His own image, 'God gave him the name of his nature' [τίθησιν αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ὄνομα]. The main reason for doing so was to avoid Adam becoming over-confident and conceited by the peak of masterhood he was raised to by his Creator. Therefore God raised an obstacle against Adam's haughty thoughts exactly by calling him 'Adam' – ἵνα

ἐκ τῆς προσηγορίας ἐννοῶν τὴν συγγένειαν, καὶ τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῆς φύσεως λογιζόμενος. Thus, man 'would behold his ancestry, the dust [τὸν πρόγονον χοῦν] in front of his eyes, and would know himself [ἑαυτὸν μὲν γνωρίζῃ].' This is Theodoret's way of saying γνῶθι σεαυτόν. Adam begins to know his very own self through the *name* given to him by his Creator. The name in this case comprises the main ontological difference between Creator and creature. Theodoret regards the *naming* of the first man 'Adam' as being God's first providential act towards him (col. 1421BC).

At the end of Ch. 23 '*on one hand the mother is called Virgin, on the other hand the Virgin is labelled mother*,[302] because she conjoins both the opposite names as well as things'. Here the author suggests that the biblical appellation – although it might be unusual or beyond our understanding – does not lose its ontological validity.

Let us move onto the appellations concerning Jesus Christ. In Ch. 20 we read:

> For if the child within the Virgin received this appellation [i.e. Emmanuel], it is clear, that He was God and man simultaneously, being one and having received the other, perfect in each respect. By the [expression] 'with us' the perfection of the human is shown, because each of us possesses the human nature perfectly. Hence by 'God', with the addition of the article, the Son's Godhead is acknowledged (col. 1453C).

Thus, the biblical appellation 'Emmanuel' is an ontological proof for our author that Jesus Christ is truly human and divine, καθ' ἑκάτερον τέλειος, preserving the Pauline sequence of ὑπάρχων and λαβών. As the author says, Paul preaches the unity of the Person [πρόσωπον], 'that is why he names [προσαγορεύει] Jesus Christ both human and God' (Ch. 22, col. 1460A). In fact, the very juxtaposition of θεοτόκος and ἀνθρωποτόκος, from which Theodoret will draw back after his letter to the Eastern monks in 431-32, does not express anything else than this simultaneous recognition of the double ὁμοούσια of the same Christ:

> Therefore concerning the theology nobody should be afflicted by unbelief, nobody should be lame [in faith] about the dispensation,[303] but according to both [teachings] one should confess, that the Christ born of Mary is God as well as man. That is why the holy Virgin is named both God-bearer and man-bearer [θεοτόκος καὶ ἀνθρωποτόκος] by the teachers of piety [ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας διδασκάλων],[304] the latter because she bore [someone]

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[302] Vat. 841: καὶ παρθένον μητέρα καλουμένην (*PG* 75, 1461B). Nicetas had: καὶ παρθένον μὲν τὴν μητέρα καλουμένην, μητέρα δὲ τὴν παρθένον προσαγορευομένην (*PG* 84, 68B).

[303] This last Ch. 35 is the closure of both works, in which the term θεολογία refers to *De Trinitate*, i.e. 'the teaching about God', whilst οἰκονομία represents *De incarnatione*.

[304] Theodoret refers here to Diodore and Theodore. The latter in his treatise *On the Incarnation* writes: 'And because they ask: "Is Mary man-bearer or God-bearer?" – we say: both (ἀμφότερα). One [man-bearer] because of the nature of things, and the other [God-bearer] because of the relation [ἀναφορά]. Man-bearer according to the nature, because there was a man in Mary's womb, [who] then came out of there. But God-bearer, because God was in the born man, not around him according to the nature, but within him according to the character of [good] will/understanding [κατὰ τὴν σχέσιν τῆς γνώμης].' See H. B. Swete, ed., *Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1880-82), II, 310. Cf. Nestorius's *Sermon* 18 *on the Divine Incarnation* (12 Dec. 430): 'θεοτόκος dico et addo et τὸ ἀνθρωποτόκος […] The entire

> similar to her by nature, the former, inasmuch as the form of the servant has the form of God united [to it].

This arguably justifiable juxtaposition was indeed not germane to Theodoret's thinking. After signing the *Formula* (which did not contain the term ἀνθρωποτόκος in its original form of Sept. 431 drawn up by him either) and realising the extent to which it was discredited because of being attached to the name of Nestorius, the Bishop of Cyrus simply does not use the term at all and he defends this later abandonment in *Letter* 16. Cyril refused to compromise excluding any orthodox interpretation of this conjunction e.g. in his *Letter* 50 *to Valerianus*:

> ὁμολόγησαν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν, ὅτι καὶ θεοτόκος ἐστὶν ἡ ἁγία Παρθένος, καὶ οὐ προσέθεσαν, ὅτι Χριστοτόκος ἐστίν, ἢ ἀνθρωποτόκος, καθά φασιν οἱ Νεστορίου τὰ δύστηνα καὶ ἀπόπτυστα δοξάρια θεραπεύοντες (*PG* 70, 276).

One of Theodoret's most interesting ways of applying the biblical appellations ontologically upon the Person of Christ is found in the current Ch. 29. Here, the second overlooked chapter title is in a close theological parallel with the next one:

The overlooked title within the text of Ch. 29:	The title of the current Ch. 30:
Υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ὁ προαιώνιος τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγος ηὐδόκησεν ὀνομάζεσθαι (col. 1469C) *The eternal Word of God was pleased to be named Son of Man*	ὅτι Υἱὸς ἡ τοῦ δούλου μορφὴ διὰ τὴν συνάφειαν ὡσαύτως προσαγορεύεται (col. 1469D) *The form of the servant is called similarly 'Son' because of the conjunction*

The parallelism of the theological terms contained within the two statements is obvious. While the first title speaks of 'the Word being called the Son of Man', the second deals with 'the form of the servant named Son [of God]'. Thus, Υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου is matched with Υἱὸς [θεοῦ], and ὁ προαιώνιος θεὸς Λόγος with ἡ τοῦ δούλου μορφή. The term ὁ προαιώνιος is the counterpart of συνάφεια: whilst the Word is timeless and *eternal*, His *conjunction* with the manhood happened in a certain moment of time. Thus, the 'form of the servant' is and can be called 'Son' only after this conjunction had been effected. The Logos as the subject within the Person of Christ is shown by the fact that whilst in the first title, He [i.e. the Word] 'was pleased' [ηὐδόκησεν] to be called Son of Man, in the second sentence the 'form of the servant' is simply 'called', 'addressed' or even 'labelled' [προσαγορεύεται] *similarly* 'Son [of God]' because of its conjunction with the Word.

The adverb ὡσαύτως [in the title of Ch. 30] referring to the verb προσαγορεύεται points back to the verb ὀνομάζεσθαι within the overlooked title. The treatise *De incarnatione* itself is abundant in such examples, since it is part of Theodoret's writing style to express the two sides of a given issue by parallel chapters and titles. In this case, the framework had the role of evincing its twofold message.[305]

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confession of orthodoxy is, that we together with θεοτόκος also pronounce ἀνθρωποτόκος'. Loofs, *Nestoriana*, 191, cf. 181-82, 297-313. Cf. Ibid, 353.

[305] I. Pásztori-Kupán, 'An unnoticed title', 108-9.

Clayton had labelled this aspect of Theodoret's Christology as 'communicatio onomaton' ('Theodoret', 239-40), i.e. a mere outward communication of names and titles between the Godhead and the manhood sharing the one common πρόσωπον or outward countenance joined by a mechanical συνάφεια instead of a true *communicatio idiomatum* within an ontological ἕνωσις. As far as the evidence goes, the doctrine of *communicatio idiomatum* was not part of the accepted theological standards of the time. Nevertheless, the objection remains valid: is a communication of names enough to secure a real union? If not, then Theodoret's manner of conceiving the model of Christ could be labelled almost as a kind of Christological Sabellianism, i.e. that both natures use the outward countenance of the shared πρόσωπον as their common προσωπεῖον or mask without really participating in the actions of the other. Let us quote Theodoret on the matter:

> Not that which was of the seed of David[306] descended from heaven, but the Maker [of all], the timeless Word of God, who is existent before the ages. Because of the union with the human [nature] [διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἕνωσιν] He takes on [λαμβάνει] the name of the Son of Man. […] [John 5:27-29] This is not the attribute [τὸ ἴδιον] of the mere [ψιλῆς] humanity, but of the inworking Godhead [τῆς ἐνεργούσης θεότητος] and therefore also of the visible humanity because of its conjunction [συνάφεια] and union [ἕνωσις] with the Godhead (col. 1469CD).

It is important to note here that Mai's erroneous reading conferred a personhood to the seed of David, whilst the manuscript refers to it in impersonal terms. The passage therefore is fully susceptible to an orthodox interpretation. Nevertheless, the occasional practice of personifying the manhood is indeed one of the most vulnerable points of Theodoret's Christology and if we disregard the soteriological reasons behind it, it can be interpreted as heterodoxy. Nevertheless, we need to consider that for our author the acceptance of 'the seed of David descending from heaven' (although in this case it is a 'what') is equivalent to Docetism, i.e. the denial of Christ's true humanity, against which he fought all along. The second sentence speaks of the Word being in ἕνωσις with the manhood. As a result, it is the Word who takes the appellation Son of Man. This title is proper to the Word on account of the union and it cannot be denied to Him after the incarnation. The great concern behind this entire manner of speech is to maintain a union without confusion, despite the fact that the seemingly antithetic names become entirely proper to the Word after the union with the manhood. The last quoted sentence almost accepts a *communicatio idiomatum* between the natures on account of the union – since Theodoret almost seems to say that 'Son of Man' is more appropriate of θεότης – nevertheless, these properties are attributed and not ontologically proper to the uniting Godhead and manhood. Thus, each nature necessarily retains its own properties while forming one Person, who is the incarnate Logos. The other side of the coin is presented in Ch. 30:

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[306] Mai's reading of Vat. gr. 841 is erroneous here, since he edited: οὐχ ὁ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ, whilst the manuscript reads: οὐ τὸ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ.

> Thus the Word of God appropriates [οἰκειοῦται] the wretchedness [τὴν εὐτέλειαν] of the form of the servant and [although] being [ὑπάρχων] God, He wants to be called man [ἄνθρωπος ἠθέλησεν ὀνομάζεσθαι]. And as He shared [μετέλαβε] in the humility [ταπεινῶν] of the man, in the same fashion He confers [μεταδέδωκε] on Him exaltation. For the infant [βρέφος] of the Virgin is called Emmanuel; the one swathed in swaddling clothes, sucking the breast and being nurtured with milk is called Angel of great counsel, marvellous counsellor, mighty God, ruler, prince of peace, Father of the coming age, Son of the Highest, Saviour, Lord and Creator of all. For he says, 'One Lord Jesus Christ, through whom all [things are]'[307] (col. 1469D-1472A).

Here Theodoret speaks about ὁ θεὸς Λόγος making the wretchedness and the humility of human existence His own. This idea of οἰκείωσις is worthy of our attention, since (as mentioned above) one may indeed say that it was arguably the closest point to a certain kind of *communicatio idiomatum* in Theodoret's Christology. As it appears in the text, this *appropriation* happens simultaneously with the Word's acceptance to be *called* man, which again reinforces the ontological function of naming. Further, Mai's Latin translation can be misleading here, since it translates μετέλαβε with 'assumpsit', whereas it means more a partaking in humility, which is a truly human experience. The 'exchange of experiences' between divinity and humanity is expressed with the use of the same preposition (μετά) for both actions: on one hand the God-Word partakes (μετέλαβε) in the humility of man, on the other hand He confers (μεταδέδωκε) exaltation on the man. The key issue is the common participation in humility and exaltation of both natures, since our own redemption and glorification depends on the exaltation of Christ's humanity, which is the common link between Him and us.[308] This is why after the redemption Theodoret can more comfortably assert that the human nature received impassibility, since for him that is the true archetype of our own glorification. Thus, the *appropriateness* (cf. again with οἰκειόω) of the glorious titles given already to the Infant of the Virgin will become evident in the moment of the human nature's glorification. The name 'One Lord Jesus Christ' describes this unparalleled union, the peculiarities of which are emphasised for soteriological reasons. The sharing of the names is not necessarily a mechanical process, on the contrary: we understand the reason of the application of seemingly contradicting names to the one Lord Jesus Christ from the perspective of the already accomplished atonement. We can see Him being θεὸς ἰσχυρός already in infancy because we contemplate the entire inseparable union from the glorious perspective of His victory. This οἰκονομικῶς manner of understanding the biblical titles of Christ as ontologically proper to Him from a primarily eschatological

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[307] See 1 Corinthians 8:6. Cf. Romans 11:36 and Colossians 1:16.

[308] It is interesting to observe that whilst for Theodoret the common link between Christ and us is His human nature, e.g. for Cyril it is His divine nature through the participation of the Holy Spirit either in a baptismal or eucharistic sense: 'Here, behold, I pray, man's nature anointed with the grace of the Holy Spirit in Christ as the firstfruits, and crowned with the highest honours [...] possessing the glorious privilege of adoption, we have been made partakers of the divine nature by the communication of the Holy Spirit' (Smith, *A Commentary on Luke by Cyril*, 50). This is very significant in respect to the soteriological background of their Christological statements.

viewpoint (see e.g. the title Πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος applied to the infant) can be observed concerning the names 'Jesus' and 'Christ' also:

> Truly the names 'Jesus' and 'Christ' are significant of the dispensation [τῆς οἰκονομίας εἰσὶ σημαντικά]. And the dispensation happened neither before the creation, nor immediately after the creation, but in the last days. Therefore the name 'Christ' indicates not only the assumed one [τὸν ληφθέντα μόνον], but also the assuming Word together with the assumed (for it is significant for both God and the man). Paul attributes [ἀνατίθησι] the creation and arrangement of all to the visible also, because of the union [ἕνωσις] with that which was hidden [τὸ κρυπτόμενον]. That is why elsewhere he calls [προσαγορεύει] the Christ God above all also, saying: [Romans 9:5]. Not because the descendant [ἀπόγονος] of David is God by himself [αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτόν] and God above all, but because he was the temple [ναός] of the God who is over all, having the divinity united [ἡνωμένην] and conjoined [συνημμένην] with himself (col. 1472AB).

Therefore, our view of the *oikonomia* has an undeniable eschatological dimension which primarily enables us to perceive the appellations applied to the Person of Christ in ontological sense. The fact that the name 'Christ' indicates both the assuming and the assumed nature raises the suspicion whether the author understands it merely as being an ornamental epithet, i.e. a title of the common πρόσωπον to which everything can be ascribed as to a more or less *tertium quid*. The text above helps us to clarify two relevant points: first, that whatever name or title is given to the Incarnate Christ becomes proper to Him ontologically based on the authority of Scripture. Christ is not a *tertium quid*, since Paul attributes the creation to the visible [τῷ ὁρωμένῳ] also.[309] The second observation is that for the sake of preserving the union unmingled and unconfused, the author distinguishes between the application of the biblical titles and of the properties of the natures respectively. It may be said that the names are valid ontologically, whereas the properties are ascribed to the natures attributively, i.e. on the account of the union. Therefore there is a *communicatio onomaton* indeed, but this derives from the biblical narrative and is applied with ontological authority within the eschatological standpoint. The *communicatio idiomatum* is missing, yet that – at least for our author and for the theological standards of his time – would mean the acceptance of a degree of confusion of the natures. This is why Christ is indeed God above all according to Paul's words, yet not because His humanity as the seed of David is divine αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτόν.[310] The above passage is meant chiefly to exclude such mingling – as a result, it carries the risk of becoming open to a subsequent negative interpretation.

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[309] Cf. with *Letter* 147, written in early 451: ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς οὐκ ἄλλο πρόσωπόν ἐστι παρὰ τὸν Υἱὸν τῆς Τριάδος πληρωτικόν. ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς πρὸ μὲν τῶν αἰώνων Υἱὸς ἦν Μονογενὴς καὶ θεὸς Λόγος, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν ὠνομάσθη καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ Χριστός, ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων τὰς προσηγορίας δεξάμενος (*SC* 111, 206).

[310] This differentiation was further refined by scholasticism when the ascription of a certain property to Jesus Christ was inadmissible in the cases where He was qualified 'reduplicative formaliter': for example, one could not say that 'Christ as Man is God' or that 'what belongs to the human nature can be predicated of the divine nature'. These were heterodox statements even in the time of Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologica* III, Q16, A11 and A5).

The fact that the manhood in the above text is called 'man' draws attention to a peculiar way in which Theodoret conceives the incarnation. The humanity is addressed sometimes in concrete terms in the treatise, yet exclusively so after its union with the Word. The reason for this can be found again in the title 'Christ' which indicates both natures and returns in Ch. 32:

> For the one conjoined with the other [θάτερον γὰρ θατέρῳ συναφθέν][311] is named Christ, whereas the bare [ψιλή] form of the servant stripped of the Godhead [γυμνὴ τυγχάνουσα τῆς θεότητος] was never called so [ἐκλήθη] by the teachers of piety (col. 1472D).

Apart from the obvious Arian danger of calling Christ a mere man Theodoret tries to avoid here another idea, namely that the humanity might be regarded as being worthy in itself of the name 'Christ'. If the name 'Christ' is denied to the bare form of the servant, it is because the human nature does not deserve this appellation by itself ontologically. Thus, the relevance of ontological 'naming' is expressed again. The humanity is raised to a 'personal' status only after its union with the Word and is addressed in concrete terms accordingly (i.e. only after the union), although the mature Theodoret will gradually abandon this practice also. The suspicion concerning the names 'Jesus' and 'Christ' as being mere titles of the shared outward prosopon (thus denoting a *tertium quid* resulting from the union of God and man) is contradicted by Theodoret's *Letter* 147 *to John the oeconomus* written in early 451:

> ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς πρὸ μὲν τῶν αἰώνων Υἱὸς ἦν μονογενὴς καὶ θεὸς Λόγος, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν ὠνομάσθη καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ Χριστός, ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων τὰς προσηγορίας δεξάμενος. Ἰησοῦς μὲν γὰρ Σωτὴρ ἑρμηνεύεται […] Χριστὸς δὲ κέκληται, ὡς κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ παναγίῳ χρισθείς, καὶ χρηματίσας ἀρχιερεὺς ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀπόστολος, καὶ προφήτης, καὶ βασιλεύς. […] Μηδεὶς τοίνυν ἀνοήτως ἄλλον τινὰ τὸν Χριστὸν νομιζέτω παρὰ τὸν Υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ (*SC* 111, 206-207).

This is perhaps one of the clearest explanations of Theodoret's ontological *communicatio onomaton*. The Word is called 'Jesus' and 'Christ' after the inhumanation, being anointed according to the humanity by the Spirit and taking on His triple office for our sake: high-priest, apostle and prophet as well as King. The use of the name 'Christ' by Theodoret may sound suspicious, yet our author firmly states that οὐκ ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς παρὰ τὸν μονογενῆ Υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ (*SC* 111, 202). Of course, his Christological standard remains as it were a 'finitum non capax infiniti'. His consistency can be seen at the beginning of Ch. 24 also:

> Thus was the Master Christ born […] (for after the birth it would not be correct to call Him only God-Word or man stripped of Godhead, but Christ,

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[311] According to the Syriac text of Severus' *Contra Grammaticum*, the expression συναφθέν should be inserted after θάτερον γὰρ θατέρῳ. I am indebted to Dr. Paul Parvis for this correction based on *CSCO*, Scr. Syri, Series Quarta, V, 257, line 19. Lebon's Latin translation of the fragment is the following: 'altera namque alteri *coniuncta*, Christus nominatur' (my italics). Ibid., 181, lines 6-7.

> which indicates [δηλοῖ] both the assuming and the assumed natures) (col. 1461B).

The main reason for applying the biblical titles to Jesus Christ therefore is to keep the integrity of both natures within the union. The eschatological-ontological communication of names may not have been the ultimate solution to the problem, yet it was perhaps one of the farthest points an Antiochene theologian could go towards a real union in Christ in the fifth century. Since the communication of properties was not a valid standard in Theodoret's heritage and his time – therefore it was not a viable option for him either. Whether this resulted in a too loose connection between the two natures or not is the following subject of our investigation.

4.5.3 The subject of predication

This section is consecrated to the analysis of a few representative passages of *De incarnatione* where the author arguably introduces 'a second subject' of predication within the Person of Christ or at least ascribes important words and deeds within salvation history to the manhood often addressed in concrete terms. This is one of the most controversial aspects of Theodoret's early Christology, the more so since his generally constant attitude seems to have undergone a change in the mode of expression after Ephesus. This touches particularly the concrete designations for the human nature which seem to fade out during the years of theological maturation. Nevertheless, since these concrete designations play an important role in the soteriology and Christology of *De incarnatione*, I shall try to give them an equitable place within the analysis.

It is also important to note that whilst we have some standards to measure Christological orthodoxy, we do not possess any concerning soteriological orthodoxy. A different soteriological scheme, however, leads to different questions and answers, shaping one's Christology accordingly. For example the two assertions: 'only God can save the fallen humankind' and 'the same nature has to show obedience and undergo the punishment which trespassed' are similarly acceptable, yet if both were taken as valid soteriological starting points they would almost certainly result in Christological differences. I cannot enter the details of this issue, yet I would like to refer the reader to the excellent article of D. F. Winslow, from which I quote:

> There is the need further to determine both *why* the Fathers said what they did as well as to assess what they said with critical attention to its implications vis-à-vis the Christian faith. [...] Why are we more comfortably disposed to the language of personal relationship than to the language of satisfaction and propitiation? What leads some of us to react negatively to dramatic interpretations of Christ's victory over the demons and to react more positively toward His victory over sin and death? There is no soteriological 'orthodoxy' to guide us, no credal assertions, no uniform tradition.[312]

[312] D. F. Winslow, 'Soteriological "Orthodoxy" in the Fathers', *SP*, 15 (1984), 393-95 (p. 394).

As signalled above during the discussion of the human soul we have to return to the Temptation-story, more precisely to its conclusion. We have already assessed that the Pauline analogy of the first and the second Adam is crucial for Theodoret's understanding of Christ's human suffering, temptation and obedience. We have seen that the Word 'permits hunger to occur', and that Christ 'hides' His divinity upon hearing Satan speak, moments which attest the Word's presence. Nevertheless, it is important from the viewpoint of God's justice that the humanity has to be given the same chance once more as in Eden, to freely say 'no' to the devil. This is undoubtedly a very subtle and peculiarly Antiochene point emerging from the synoptic narrative itself. This has been the case for Theodoret's masters as well. As Anastos observes,

> Theodore wished to emphasise the perfect humanity of Christ. He was careful to insist that Christ was without blemish, but he deemed it essential for the salvation of mankind that Christ should have been free to choose evil and to sin had he wished to do so.[313]

This is exactly the point to which Alexandria would not go: Christ cannot be even supposed to have had the possibility to choose otherwise than He did. It seems to me that this is Theodoret's way of understanding it also – that is why he underlines so diligently Christ's complete sinlessness – but he wants to evade the other difficulty, namely that Christ did not play a divine game upon the earth, that He had a truly free, sinless human will and that His temptation and sufferings were completely real and human, otherwise the whole salvation is in jeopardy, since God cannot be tempted. This is in fact the argument within the devil's shockingly dramatic discourse:

> Because if the God-Word replaced the intellect in that which was assumed [ἦν ἀντὶ νοῦ ἐν τῷ ληφθέντι], even the devil could find some justified excuses, and reasonably might say: 'Ruler and Creator of everything, I did not begin the fight against You, because I know Your dignity, I am aware of [Your] might, and recognise [Your] authority. I acknowledge my servitude even suffering from rebelliousness. I yield victory even to the angels and to all the heavenly hosts, [although] once I, the miserable one, had been also one of them. Hence, I started the fight against this one, whom You formed out of clay, created after Your image, honoured with reason [ἐτίμησας τῷ λόγῳ],[314] made the citizen [πολίτης] of paradise and presented [as] the ruler of earth and sea. *This one I have defeated by using deceit, not force* [τοῦτον, ἀπάτῃ χρησάμενος, οὐκ ἀνάγκῃ, νενίκηκα].[315] Up till today I am still the one who defeats [him], prostrates [him] and sends [him] to death. Bring this one to the arena [εἰς τὸ στάδιον] and command him to fight with me, be the spectator [θεατής] and judge [ἀγωνοθέτης] of the combat Yourself. Even be his trainer if You want [παιδοτρίβου ποιεῖν], teach him to fight, show him the holds of success, anoint him as You wish, just do not fight together with the wrestler

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[313] Anastos, 'The Immutability of Christ', 126.

[314] ἐτίμησας τῷ λόγῳ could be interpreted either as referring to the intellect (i.e. God's greatest gift), but also as '[You] honoured [him] with the Word', i.e. with both the Person and the written Scripture.

[315] Only by Nicetas (Vindob. 71, fol. 308^{r}, line 26), cf. *PG* 84, 81D.

> [μόνον μὴ συμμαχήσῃς παλαίοντι]. I am not so audacious and mindless to attempt fighting against You, the Creator.' The devil could have justly told this to the Saviour Christ, if He were not man [properly], but [only] God, fighting in place of man [εἴπερ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἦν, ἀλλὰ θεός, ὁ ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου παλαίων]. (col. 1444AC).

This is one of the most famous and perhaps one of the most disputed passages from *De incarnatione*, which caused a long-term suspicion concerning the orthodoxy of its author starting from his own days up till recent scholarship. It was quoted in greater part and criticised by Marius Mercator. Garnier included it in his *Auctarium* (see *PG* 84, 81C-84B), whilst considering Theodoret a Nestorian. Two renowned scholars of our time, H. M. Diepen and Jean Daniélou, have crossed swords heavily over this selfsame passage. Paul Parvis and Paul B. Clayton[316] commented on it in their doctoral theses. Thus, before proceeding with its analysis, I shall try to summarise at least the main lines represented by modern scholarship.

Diepen and Clayton seem to follow Mercator's and Garnier's judgement, forming the category of those condemning Theodoret severely for his 'two-subject Christology' and dissolving Christ's hypostatic union. As Diepen writes about the above passage:

> En ce texte, Théodoret ne nie pas la divinité de Jésus-Christ. Nestorius lui-même ne l'a jamais fait, pas en ces termes du moins. Mais Théodoret, comme Nestorius, nie la divinité de celui qui, en Jésus-Christ, a lutté contre le diable, ὁ παλαίων. Or, c'est précisement sous cette forme subtile, très différente des simplifications de Cassien, que le nestorianisme a été condamné au concile d'Éphèse. L'anathème – et quel anathème! – a porté sur l'introduction implicite et subreptice de deux sujets d'attribution dans un Christ, un Fils, un Seigneur Jésus-Christ. Par une confusion fatale, Théodoret, comme Nestorius encore, englobe dans une même reprobation la folie d'Apollinaire et de dogme d'Éphèse. Et si le R. P. [Jean Daniélou] me reprochait de ne pas être sensible à la beauté d'un texte où l'on trouve déjà une 'psychologie humaine du Christ' formellement esquissée, je réponds que cet avantage est payé trop cher, son prix étant l'union hypostatique et le sens même du mystère.[317]

Clayton shares this opinion and does not see any evolution within Theodoret's Christology until the end of his life and depicts him as an inconvertible crypto-Nestorian. Despite the fact that Diepen's argument concerning the condemnation of Nestorianism in Ephesus in its 'subtle form' is difficult to accept when one considers the atmosphere and the hurry in which the first sessions of Cyril's council were conducted, and despite his reference to Cyril's fourth anathema, which was flatly contradicted by the *Formula of Reunion* signed by Cyril himself, and despite the fact that the Cyrilline anathemas cannot be regarded as being the commonly agreed theological standard of the Ephesian-Chalcedonian period (since Chalcedon did not formally approve them),[318] we should still

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[316] Diepen, 'Théodoret et le dogme d' Éphèse', *RSR*, 44 (1956), 243-47; Clayton, 'Theodoret', 219-26.
[317] Diepen, 'Théodoret et le dogme d' Éphèse', 246.
[318] Cyril's *Epistola synodica* (with the 12 anathemas) was not recognised by Chalcedon, only his *Epistola dogmatica* and *Epistola ad Orientales* (*Epistola dogmatica*: *Ep*. 4 in *PG* 77, 44-49 – Second letter to Nestorius; *Epistola ad*

admit that the French scholar raises a real Christological concern regarding the unity of subject in the above text.

Although agreeing about the heterodoxy of the quoted passage, Paul Parvis argues that a later development in Theodoret's thinking and terminology did in fact occur:

> 'Only do not fight on the side of the wrestler.' [...] This is meant to exclude Apollinarianism, but it excludes much else as well. Cyril would undoubtedly have thought that the admonition μόνον μὴ συμμαχήσῃς παλαίοντι was a piece of truly diabolic theology, and it must be presumed that the Theodoret of the *Commentary*, who is careful to make the subject of the saving acts the Incarnate and not simply the assumed nature, would not himself have endorsed the devil's speech in such glowing terms as he did in *De incarnatione*.[319]

Finally, we have to mention Marcel Richard, Jean Daniélou, Marijan Mandac and Günter Koch as some of those representing the view that Theodoret's exposé can be interpreted in an orthodox manner, despite its dramatic internal tensions. Koch emphasises the one subject, whilst admitting the prominence of the human nature:

> Subjekt der Aussagen ist der eine Christus, das eine Prosopon der Mensch gewordenen Logos, aber in diesem einen wird nun gerade die menschliche Wirklichkeit, das menschliche Wirken herausgestellt.[320]

In opposition to Diepen, Jean Daniélou argues that both Theodoret and Cyril were equally orthodox and both of them used some formulae, which later appeared to be equally insufficient. In his answer to Diepen's above quoted comment, Daniélou defends Theodoret's orthodoxy.[321]

I think that it is almost impossible to reconcile the various views (and we have quoted only a few of the most representative ones) concerning Theodoret's exposé above. Therefore, instead of repeating the already enumerated arguments by modern scholars, I would rather admit that concerning certain issues one has to accept to be in disagreement with someone else and still respect and assess positively the position and contribution of the other party. The approaches of Diepen and Daniélou are relevant up till the present day in describing the fundamental differences between the two major positions. Daniélou defends Theodoret's orthodoxy exactly on a basis of a rather difficult passage, which – and I agree here with the judgement of Paul Parvis – Cyril might have easily labelled as 'diabolic theology', and shows how it can be interpreted in orthodox sense.

Therefore let us return to this very representative passage and try to define its subject of predication. It is obvious that the text is aimed against the Arian-Apollinarian Christological model, yet another aspect has to be restated: the soteriological starting

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Orientales: *Ep*. 39 in PG 77, 173-81 – 'Let the heavens rejoice…'). Loofs, who himself gave up his former opinion that the *synodica* was implicitly acknowledged at Chalcedon, presents his evidence in Fr. Loofs, *Nestorius and His Place in the History of Christian Doctrine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 98. This is the reason why I did not quote the anathemas concerning the issue of *communicatio idiomatum*, since although they were composed in the same period, their theological validity was first attested in 553.

[319] Parvis, 'Theodoret' s *Commentary* on Paul', 305.

[320] Koch, *Strukturen und Geschichte des Heils*, 141.

[321] Diepen, 'Théodoret et le dogme d' Éphèse' (followed by Daniélou's answer on 247-48).

point of the passage is decisive. The same nature which disobeyed God's command has to show obedience. As the devil says, he defeated God's creature and not God Himself – by deceit and not by force. In the battle he demands to face human resistance and not divine might. For some theologians it may not be a question of theodicy for God to deceive Satan – it is for Theodoret, who was eager to evince that God treated even sin with righteousness, throwing it out of power only after having proved its injustice. What the devil in fact offers God here is nothing else than a bargain: he is ready to accept God's power over everything if God were to acknowledge his [i.e. Satan's] unchallenged rule over the fallen humankind. Of course, this would mean the handing over of God's most precious creation to the devil. This is by no means possible for the Creator who loves His creation. Nevertheless, He loves His justice also. In order not to play off God's love for humankind (which would dictate a divine shattering of the devil)[322] against His impeccable justice (which demands the just punishment of the disobedient human nature), Theodoret sees no other way than to bring the humanity of Christ – referred here in concrete terms as ὁ παλαίων – into the battlefield to take back the dominion of the Evil One over the entire fallen humanity. The Word's impassibility does not seem to be the primary concern in this case (I shall examine those examples below).

Thus, God – who is righteous even towards Satan – accepts the challenge. The obedience is shown by the humanity of Christ, permitted by the Word to feel hunger and to be tempted. Theodoret's ominous sentence μόνον μὴ συμμαχήσῃς παλαίοντι is thus the very cornerstone of this argument in his attempt to find the equitable balance between God's justice, His almighty power and ineffable philanthropy. Does this result in a necessary division of the one subject of predication within his Christological model? If the humanity were abandoned by the Word for the time of the fight, yes. Hence, as far as Theodoret's soteriology is concerned, in his mind there is a substantial difference between the Word 'not fighting' together with the wrestler and 'abandoning' the human nature altogether. The Word has clearly not abandoned the perfect human nature He assumed, since the union is indivisible (see Ch. 29), but rather permitted for the rational soul to make a moral choice in the name of all humankind and for its redemption, that the devil might know that his rule over the nature of humanity has come to an end. In fact, the choice was the same as if it were taken by the divine Word, showing that the perfect human nature – as God's restored image – can be in accordance with God's will.[323]

The answer to the above question, however, may still depend on whether one considers ὁ Σωτὴρ Χριστός in the quoted passage as the single subject of predication to whom the work of deliverance is ultimately ascribed on account of the real union – the properties of each nature being thus preserved – or regards the title 'the Saviour Christ' a mere epithet for the commonly shared πρόσωπον or outward countenance. Considering the ontological importance of 'naming' outlined above it is my understanding that our author may be credited with the first option. Nevertheless, I also admit that the opposite view

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[322] This solution would harm God's justice in Theodoret's view. That is why he addresses thus to Apollinaris: 'the God-Word would not need the body either, for He was not in want! He could have accomplished our salvation [simply] by His mere command! But He wanted us to be partakers in [His] success: *that is why* He took on the sinful nature' (Ch. 18, col. 1448C).

[323] See the further examples below.

has its own quite justified Christological arguments, although they are based as we have said on a similarly valid but different soteriological premise. The concluding passage shows our author's main concern:

> If there was no human intellect [νοῦς ἀνθρώπινος] in Him,[324] God replacing the mind and taking over the work of the intellect, then God hungered with the body, God thirsted, suffered, *slept, grieved, was afraid* [325] and endured all the other human torments also. Hence, if God had fought and won, then I have been deprived of victory, [because] God fulfilled all righteousness, since the God-Word would not have received it [i.e. the mind], as the followers of the niggling of Apollinaris are upholding, on the grounds that it was impossible to fulfil the laws of righteousness with a human mind (col. 1444C).

It is interesting that here the issue of divine impassibility has a far lesser weight than God's justice. The ultimate question is the level of 'my participation' in the victory of Christ. Since for Theodoret the common link between Christ and us is His human nature, His victory over the devil can be ascribed to us only if it had been carried out by His human obedience. Thus, the victory over the devil of Christ's human nature is simultaneously ascribed to the Word on account of the union without confusion and to us on account of the same nature. I think this is the most plausible explanation of Theodoret's theological reasons, yet this does not necessarily mean that all the obscure or defective points of his system can or should be explained away.

In order to reflect on this issue more fully, I have chosen a few more passages of this kind, which already involve a related question, namely, the author's way of appropriating the human experiences to the Word. This particularly concerns divine impassibility and the preservation of the natures' properties. For Theodoret the Arian concept is certainly not a lesser danger than the Apollinarian one:

> We believe the Lord Himself, who said: 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death.' For the rational [soul] [τὸ λογικόν] in us accepts the sensation of sorrow, but if the God-Word replaced the mind and accepted the passions of the intellect [τὰ τοῦ νοῦ κατεδέχετο πάθη], then [the Word] Himself did grieve, was afraid, was ignorant, agonised, and was strengthened by angelic aid [ἀγγελικῇ συμμαχίᾳ ῥωσθείς] (col. 1453A).

We have seen that the Word's impassibility does not mean at all His inability to commiserate with us. At this point it may not be inappropriate to reflect briefly upon the so-called Arian syllogism mentioned in the analysis of *De Trinitate*.[326] Arius also denied

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[324] Vat. 841 reads: ἐν αὐτῷ, i.e. 'in it' or 'in him'. Euthymius had: ἐν τῷ προσλήμματι, i.e. 'in that which was assumed'. Cf. *PG* 75, 1444C with *PG* 130, 925B.

[325] The text in italics was preserved by Euthymius. See *PG* 130, 925B.

[326] The Arian syllogism as it appears in Sullivan and Clayton, is the following: Major premise: the Word is the subject even of the human operations and sufferings of Christ; Minor premise: whatever is predicated of the Word must be predicated of Him in his nature: κατὰ φύσιν. Conclusion: the Word is limited in his φύσις or nature, being passibly affected by the human experiences of Christ. Thus, the divine οὐσία cannot be predicated of the Word, because He is other than the Father κατὰ φύσιν.

the human soul of Christ like Apollinaris did. It follows that in the lack of any other option he necessarily ascribed ontologically all the human experiences to the Word only.

From Chapters 9 and 10 of *De incarnatione* it becomes clear that Theodoret's reaction to the Arian syllogism was not merely the denial of its major premise, as Clayton often seems to suggest,[327] but the rejection of the Λόγος–σάρξ model as a whole, which is behind the whole syllogism itself. As a representative of the so-called Λόγος–ἄνθρωπος Christology, Theodoret in fact cannot be said to have reacted to it in any plausible way, since for him the very foundations of the system were invalid. Thus, assessing his Christology by the rules of the Arian syllogism does not seem to grant us a very promising insight.

Since the Alexandrians operated with the same model, they could be said to have refined the syllogism to fit their concept. That is why Athanasius, Cyril and the others were indeed orthodox teachers of the Church. Nonetheless, the orthodox branch of the Λόγος–ἄνθρωπος Christology cannot be interpreted in terms of the Arian syllogism, because the model behind its reasoning was from the very outset unacceptable for these theologians.[328]

Therefore, without entering now into the details of the Word grieving, being afraid and ignorant qua Logos, i.e. in His divine essence, let us focus on the last point in the above passage, i.e. the ἀγγελικὴ συμμαχία. If the Word could be said to have been strengthened by the angel, it means that He was in need of angelic help, i.e. He was of lower rank than angels, and consequently, a creature. Theodoret seeks to avoid this Arian pitfall by necessarily distinguishing between what is proper to the divine Word incarnate ontologically and attributively. This is not a mere denial of the famous major premise of the Arian syllogism: the point is that whilst on one hand the Word accepted our sufferings, on the other hand He was not subjected to them. Of course, neither the Arian lowered Godhead and diminished manhood nor the Apollinarian full Godhead and diminished manhood were adequate for the Bishop of Cyrus. That is why he considered both heretical parties similarly χριστομάχοι:

> So if the heirs [κληρονόμοι] of Apollinaris' idle talking proclaim these things also, they should be ranked together with Arius and Eunomius among the enemies of Christ. For it is right, that those [who teach] the same blasphemy should belong to one bunch (col. 1453AB).[329]

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[327] See e.g. Clayton, 'Theodoret', 105, 229, 257-58, 265 etc.

[328] The problem with the Arian syllogism is exactly the fact that it is conclusive only within the Λόγος–σάρξ model, which indeed permits no alternative formulation of the major premise unless the sufferings are ascribed exclusively to the assumed flesh. It therefore cannot represent all the options the Λόγος–ἄνθρωπος model is capable to involve, simply because its own limits are inadequate to include these extra categories. Invoking a mathematical analogy: to use the Arian syllogism as a test of the orthodoxy of a theologian who argues based on the Λόγος–ἄνθρωπος model is no less an error than to assess the validity of the arguments of a non-Euclidic mathematician based on Euclid's axioms, the very denial of which is in fact the starting point of this geometry.

[329] The above passage is virtually the only one where Theodoret can be said to refer to his contemporary opponents. Nevertheless, Quasten drew a major conclusion concerning its significance: 'The author explicitly denies any polemical purpose and pretends only to be defending the orthodox faith against the Apollinarists. But the "Apollinarists" turn out to be, of all people, Cyril and the Fathers of Ephesus!' (*Patrology*, III, 547). I think that within the context of the treatise the reference to the heirs of Apollinaris seeks to emphasise that the denial of

Ch. 21 is the most important one which deals in more detail with the subject of predication. Whilst commenting Hebrews 2:9, Theodoret writes:

> This [verse] demonstrates best of all the perfection of the assumed man [τοῦ ἀναληφθέντος ἀνθρώπου τὸ τέλειον]. For he says: 'What is man that You are mindful of him?' *He does not say 'what is flesh that You are mindful of it' or 'what is the body that You are mindful of it'*, but rather 'what is man', including [περιλαβών] similarly the entire nature also.[330] On one hand he names the indwelling [τὸν ἐνοικήσαντα] God-Word Lord, who, remembering His own image manifested ineffable philanthropy; on the other hand, he names the temple assumed from us 'man', which He visited by His arrival [παρουσία], conjoined it with Himself [ἑαυτῷ συνῆψε] and by the union [τῇ ἑνώσει] He accomplished [the work of] salvation (col. 1457A).

The passage starts with a concrete designation of the assumed man deriving from the biblical text. It then becomes a label for the entire human nature, in which the Word was dwelling as a Person. The work of salvation is then ultimately ascribed to the Word on account of the union. This is the typical and reappearing manner in which Theodoret differentiates between the natures' properties pertaining to their essence and the works carried out by one of the natures, yet ascribed to the Person on account of the union. As R. V. Sellers explains, 'from Eustathius onwards, these teachers refer to "the man" (which is their term for "manhood") as the *suum* of the Logos [...] the classical Antiochenes can say that the Logos "allowed" the manhood to experience what belongs to it'.[331] He argues that whenever the Antiochenes attribute something to the Logos and something else to the man, 'they are but "recognising the difference", and [...] it is certain, that those many statements of theirs which at first sight seem to indicate that they are teaching "two Sons", must be viewed in such a context if we are not to do them no small injustice' (Ibid., 180). The typical statement 'the seed of Abraham is different from the One who assumed it' at the end of Ch. 21 carries this fundamental difference between the essences and natures of Creator and creature, which precedes the ascription of the atonement to the Word.

Perhaps the most eloquent example is the passage which reminds us Theodoret's counter-statement against the fourth Cyrilline anathema:

> Who [τίς] was it then who prayed, offering up pleas and supplications with strong crying and tears? Who lived in reverence [in order] to persuade by this the One he implored? Who learned the obedience from what he suffered, accepting the trial as teacher, and not having known this [i.e. obedience]

Arianism is not yet a guarantee of orthodoxy, since the Apollinarian thought is not less dangerous. That is why both are ranked together. Moreover, Cyril and those present at his council cannot 'turn out to be' the Apollinarists of *De incarnatione*, if the work preceded the council, save for the case if they were indeed Apollinarians, which I would certainly refuse. In addition, Theodoret himself became convinced that Cyril did not hold the extreme views of his anathemas after having signed the *Formula of Reunion*.

[330] The fragment in italics was preserved only by Severus' *Contra Grammaticum*, *CSCO*, V, 67 (Syriac) and V, 47 (Latin). Lebon's Latin translation is the following: 'Non dixit "quod est caro, quod memor es eius", aut "quid corpus, quod memor es eius".'

[331] Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon*, 171.

> before the testing? Who did receive perfection gradually [ὁ λαβὼν κατὰ μέρος τὴν τελειότητα]? Not the God-Word, the perfect, the One who had known all [things] before their genesis, but [who] does not learn by experiencing; who is venerated by all, but adulates none; who wipes all tears away from every face, but is not constrained by suffering to weep. Who is impassible and immortal, yet has no fear of death, and does not beseech with crying to be delivered from death. For these are indeed the properties [ἴδια] of the assumed humanity, which feared death and persisted in praying, the indwelling Godhead making room for the fear in order that through the sufferings the nature of that which was assumed might be displayed (col. 1457CD).

The whole passage sharpened so tenaciously onto the recurrent 'who?' is focused upon the ἴδια of the Word and of the assumed man or manhood respectively. It almost gives the impression that the author in fact exaggerates on purpose in order to evince the faulty points of the Arian-Apollinarian model. The moments of praying, receiving perfection gradually and fearing death are probably some of the most difficult to explain in Christ's earthly life without actually making His human soul a 'theological factor', since these cannot be predicated of the Word qua Logos. If He is God, He cannot pray to Himself,[332] being perfect He cannot receive perfection gradually and being Life Himself cannot be said to have feared death. Theodoret indeed does not see any other way than to ascribe these manifestations to the assumed nature as its proper ἴδιον for which the Word made room. Nevertheless, he is not alone by proceeding so. Ambrose, to whom our author refers as to Damasus with appreciation in *HE*, wrote:

> εἴ τις εἴπῃ ὅτι ἐν τῷ πάθει τοῦ σταυροῦ τὴν ὀδύνην ὑπέμεινεν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ θεός, καὶ οὐχὶ ἡ σάρξ σὺν τῇ ψυχῇ ἥνπερ ἐνεδύσατο μορφὴν δούλου ἥνπερ ἑαυτῷ ἀνέλαβεν, ὡς εἴρηκεν ἡ ἁγία γραφή, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω (*GCS* 44, 300).

Another solution is of course simultaneously developed – paradoxically, based on the very same biblical passage that our author quotes so frequently and to which Ambrose refers above. Theodoret obviously did not elaborate a so-called 'kenotic' Christology which emerging from a different soteriological assumption would result in a less dramatic solution. It seems to me that whilst both Antioch and Alexandria used and applied Philippians 2:6-7 in their Christology, Antioch focused on the two 'forms' at the beginning and at the end of the biblical passage, whereas Alexandria concentrated on the middle section concerning the 'self-emptying' of the Word. The results are notably different: the kenotic language removes the tension but may become suspected of Monophysite theopaschism; the non-kenotic one preserves the drama, yet it is vulnerable to the charge of 'two subjects'.

The Word made room for the fear in the same fashion as He allowed hunger to occur, yet the reappearing emphasis is always the same: not the separation of the subject but the

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[332] Without opening a discussion on intra-Trinitarian relations, in lack of space I would simply refer back here to the above passage: the divine Word is ὁ πάντας ἔχων εὐλαβουμένους, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ αὐτὸς εὐλαβούμενος (col. 1457C).

acknowledgement of the properties. Without the ἴδια, the entire reality of the natures is at peril for our author. In one of his later works, *De providentia oratio* X, written between 433 and 437,[333] Theodoret explains this more carefully saying in an epigrammatic manner that Jesus did not exceed the measure of fasting 'in order that [His] humanity might be trusted' [ἵνα πιστευθῇ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον] (*PG* 83, 752C).

The concrete designations used for the manhood

Whilst analysing the concrete terms applied to the assumed man or manhood in *De incarnatione* we ought to remember that this practice was by no means an exclusively Antiochene peculiarity. As shown by M. Richard, even Severus had to admit that concrete designations for the human nature of Christ were tolerated until after the Council of Ephesus:

> Pour trouver en cette première moitié du VI[e] siècle une réprobation formelle de 'l'homme assumé', il faut chercher dans le camp monophysite. Sévère d'Antioche s'est déclaré avec plus d'intransigeance encore que saint Cyrille contre cette manière de parler. Un jour pourtant, pressé par le diophysite Jean de Césarée, il dut reconnaître que saint Athanase, saint Basile et bien d'autres Pères qu'il vénérait, y compris saint Cyrille, avaient usé de semblables formules. Il s'en tira en déclarant que jusqu'à l'hérésie de Nestorius ce langage pouvait été toléré, mais qu'il fallait, depuis le concile d'Éphèse, le laisser aux Nestoriens.[334]

I consider that before focusing on Theodoret's use of these terms a brief overview of some representative examples in the wider theological heritage of his era would be needed. The list is far from being exhaustive, nevertheless, I tried to follow a chronological sequence of the main occurrences.

In his *Confession* written most probably before the Nicene Creed, Athanasius gives a concrete designation of the human being assumed by the Word of God:

> [ὁ Υἱὸς] ἐκ τῆς ἀχράντου παρθένου Μαρίας τὸν ἡμέτερον ἀνείληφεν ἄνθρωπον, Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν παθεῖν παρέδωκεν ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει […] ἐν ᾧ ἀνθρώπῳ σταυρωθεὶς καὶ ἀποθανὼν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνελήφθη εἰς οὐρανούς […] ἄνοδόν τε εἰς οὐρανούς, ὅπου πρόδρομος εἰσῆλθεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος, ἐν ᾧ μέλλει κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 265).

The text shows that even such a representative Alexandrian figure like Athanasius could speak quite comfortably in concrete terms about 'the assumed man', whom he even names 'Jesus Christ', which is a step further than Theodoret's own practice of 'naming'. As quoted earlier, a century after Athanasius' confession, the Bishop of Cyrus was keen to emphasise that 'the bare form of the servant stripped of the Godhead was never called

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[333] Marcel Richard, 'Notes sur l' évolution doctrinale de Théodoret', *RSPT*, 25 (1936), 459-81 (p. 477).
[334] M. Richard, 'Notes sur Théodoret', 481.

so [i.e. Christ] by the teachers of piety'. Nevertheless, for Athanasius the Word/Wisdom/Son (since all three appear in the text before the above passage) is not only crucified 'within the man' but He shall even come to judge the living and the dead 'in the lordly man'. The least we can say about the passage is that the practice of ascribing important moments of salvation history to the manhood addressed in concrete terms cannot be limited to the Antiochene school.

The so-called *Formula of Sardica* of 342 probably drawn up by Hosius of Cordoba and Protogenes of Sardica states:

> ὁμολογοῦμεν Μονογενῆ καὶ πρωτότοκον, ἀλλὰ Μονογενῆ τὸν Λόγον, ὃς πάντοτε ἦν καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Πατρί, τό· πρωτότοκος δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. […] καὶ τοῦτο πιστεύομεν πεμφθέν. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐ πέπονθεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὃν ἐνεδύσατο, ὃν ἀνέλαβεν ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν παθεῖν δυνάμενον. ὅτι ἄνθρωπος θνητός, θεὸς δὲ ἀθάνατος. Πιστεύομεν ὅτι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνέστη οὐχ ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἀνέστη (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 189).

As we see the issue of divine impassibility[335] and the resulting emphasis upon the role of 'the assumed man' was provably germane to Christian thinking almost a century before our author. The picture drawn here about the death and resurrection of Christ will return in Theodoret's mode of presenting the destruction and redemption of the assumed temple (see below). Theodoret was familiar with the formula and quoted it – including the above passage – in his *Church history*.[336]

The longer version of the *Palestinian Symbol* presented by Epiphanius in 374 qualifies what is to be confessed under the expression 'became man':

> ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, τουτέστι τέλειον ἄνθρωπον λαβόντα, ψυχὴν καὶ σώμα καὶ νοῦν καὶ πάντα, εἴ τι ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 136).[337]

This is very much the same picture of the 'becoming human' of the Word as understood by Theodoret: the assumption of the soul, body and mind (not leaving room for Apollinarianism) and in fact of everything that the human being is – except sin. This is what the *Palestinian Symbol* calls τέλειος ἄνθρωπος which despite its rather concrete form seems to be an established technical (perhaps anti-Apollinarian) term for the 'full and perfect manhood' well before Theodoret's own time. On one occasion even Theodoret provides us with a patristic example. In his reply to the fifth Cyrilline anathema, he invokes the authority of St. Basil:

> We do not object [οὐ παραιτούμεθα] to [the term] man bearing God [τὸν θεοφόρον ἄνθρωπον], as applied by many of the holy Fathers, one of whom

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[335] It is interesting to observe that the council spoke of the Spirit not having suffered because of being clothed with the man. This may derive from Christ's conception by the Spirit. Nevertheless, the idea of divine impassibility is emphatically present in this confession.

[336] See Theodoret, *HE* II, 8 (cf. *GCS* 44, 117).

[337] The longer Mass-Creed of the Armenian Church in Asia Minor, which resembles very much the *Palestinian Symbol* by Epiphanius preserves almost the same wording of the second part of the above text (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 152).

> is the great Basil, who uses this name [τούτῳ χρησάμενος τῷ ὀνόματι] in his work [addressed] to Amphilochius about the Holy Spirit,[338] and in his explanation of Psalm fifty-nine.[339] But we call Him man bearing God [θεοφόρον ἄνθρωπον], not because He received some share of the divine grace [οὐχ ὡς μερικήν τινα θείαν χάριν δεξάμενον], but as possessing all the Godhead of the Son united [ἀλλ᾽ ὡς πᾶσαν ἡνωμένην ἔχοντα τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν θεότητα] (*ACO* I, 1, 6, 126).

As it could be expected, Theodore of Mopsuestia also uses the expression in his confession: ὁ δεσπότης θεὸς Λόγος ἄνθρωπον εἴληφε τέλειον (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 302). Nevertheless, it is clear that this was not his – and perhaps not even an Antiochene invention.

In an explanation of the *Nicaeanum* initially ascribed to Basil the Great,[340] yet which was composed between 428 and 450, thus already after the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy by an Alexandrian author the expression reappears:

> περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκ παρθένου σαρκώσεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὕτως πιστεύομεν· ὅτι ἀνέλαβεν ἄνθρωπον τέλειον ἐκ τῆς θεοτόκου Μαρίας διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, σῶμα τε καὶ ψυχήν, ἀληθινῶς καὶ οὐ δοκήσει· οὕτως γὰρ ἦλθεν τελειῶσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἀνέλαβεν […] ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρός, ἀποθεώσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἀνέλαβεν (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 310).

This last example is noteworthy especially because it comes from Theodoret's own time, moreover, from the pen of an Alexandrian author.[341] If such concrete terms could be used even during the time of Cyril's ferocious clash with Nestorius, it would appear that the validity of such language was not seriously questioned or suspect in those years and indeed during the preceding century. Thus, instead of lengthening this historical overview, let us proceed to Theodoret.[342]

Most of the concrete designations for the assumed perfect manhood are biblical terms turned into technical ones, yet not exclusively within the Antiochene school. We have already met the 'form of the servant' deriving from Philippians 2:5-7:

> As the shepherd, when seeing [His] sheep dispersed chooses one of them and brings it to the pasture he prefers, by that one attracting the rest towards himself; in the same fashion the God-Word when He saw that humankind had gone astray, He assumed the form of the servant, conjoined it with Himself [τοῦ δούλου λαβὼν τὴν μορφὴν, καὶ ταύτην συνάψας ἑαυτῷ] and by

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[338] Cf. ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου φυράματος ἡ θεοφόρος σὰρξ συνεπάγη (Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* 5,12 in *SC* 17). The term 'God-bearing flesh' returns in Basil's *Homilies on the Psalms*, yet I did not encounter the term 'God-bearing man'.

[339] See e.g. St. Basil, *Homiliae super Psalmos*: Τάχα τὴν σάρκα λέγει τὴν θεοφόρον, ἁγιασθεῖσαν διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν συναφείας (*PG* 29, 424B). Cf. ὑπόδημα δὲ τῆς θεότητος ἡ σάρξ ἡ θεοφόρος δι᾽ ἧς ἐπέβη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (*PG* 29, 468A).

[340] *Expositio fidei Nicaenae*.

[341] Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 309.

[342] For further arguments see Mandac, 'L' union christologique', 79, note 92.

> that [form] He turned back towards Himself the entire nature of humankind [ἐπέστρεψε πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν], leading the degraded and by wolves threatened [flock] onto the divine meadow. That is why our Saviour took on our nature (col. 1468BC).

In Theodoret's interpretation 'the form of the servant' – representing the οὐσία and φύσις of the assumed manhood – is the instrument of the Word by which the One Incarnate can establish contact with humankind and truly become one of us. Further, the form of the servant is indispensable for the carrying out of the work of salvation. As the author says, the Word turned back the entire nature, race or species of humankind by assuming it and uniting it with Himself. Another possible interpretation is: 'He turned back or renewed the entire human nature' (i.e. the nature that is commonly shared by all human beings and which is contaminated by the original sin). This latter explanation is somewhat supported by the context also.

Although other terms are used occasionally to denote the manhood like 'the man', 'the visible man' (col. 1433CD: ὁρώμενος ἄνθρωπος), 'the wrestler', 'the one assumed', 'the seed of David' etc., nevertheless, Theodoret's most typical term – deriving partly from his own Antiochene heritage – remains 'the temple' [ὁ ναός].[343] The question whether the temple should be regarded as a separate person from the Word is partly answered by its actual use, since Theodoret states repeatedly that it is the ναός of the Word or assumed by the Word he is talking about (see e.g. col. 1452B, 1453A, 1460D, 1472B). The biblical source of this term is John 2:19, which Theodoret comments on at the end of Ch. 18:

> Hence, the temple is different [ἕτερος] from the [one, who] in the sense of nature [κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς φύσεως] dwells [ὁ κατοικήσας] [in it]. That is why He also told the Jews, 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up' [John 2:19]. The destruction of the temple is the separation [διάζευξις] of the soul from the body, since death is the division [ἀναχώρησις] of the soul from the body. Therefore, the separation of the soul causes the destruction of the temple. Then, if the Jews destroyed the temple, giving it to crucifixion and death – the destruction of the temple [meaning] the separation of the conjoined things [τῶν συνημμένων ὁ χωρισμός] – and the God-Word redeemed this destroyed [temple], then I think it is evident to the reasonable, that the God-Word did not assume a soulless and irrational [body], but a perfect man [τέλειον ἄνθρωπον]. If the God-Word had replaced the immortal soul in the assumed body, He would have said to the Jews: 'Destroy me, and in three days I shall rise again'. Yet, He teaches here both the mortality of the temple then [τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ τηνικαῦτα τὸ θνητόν] and the power of the indwelling Godhead. 'Destroy this temple', He says, 'and in three days I shall raise it up'. For He did not say: 'you shall destroy me', but '[you shall destroy] the temple I have assumed' [ὁ ληφθεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ ναός].' (col. 1452AB).

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[343] The term ναός occurs 20 times within *De incarnatione*.

If we compare this passage with the second part of the *Formula of Sardica* quoted above it becomes evident that the same concerns are to be found in both cases: the properties of the natures are present within the uniting parties and the concrete terms are used to evince this difference. Athanasius's ἄνθρωπος means substantially the same: it is the unavoidable theological recognition of this ontological difference. It ought to be observed that although the passage speaks of the Word and of His temple as ἕτερος and ἕτερος, the author means it from the very outset strictly κατὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς φύσεως. This careful distinction must not be overlooked, since the φύσις is the exclusive bearer of the ἴδιον within the Person of Christ. The same thing is valid again for τέλειος ἄνθρωπος, since as we have seen in the *Palestinian Symbol*, the full humanity is conceived as a union of body and rational soul labelled as 'perfect man'.[344] The differentiation between what is proper to the Word and to the assumed perfect nature is necessary in order to safeguard divine immortality and incorruptibility. This is why Theodoret paraphrases John 2:19 saying that He did not ask the Jews to destroy Him (i.e. qua Logos), but the temple (i.e. τὸν τέλειον ἄνθρωπον) He assumed.[345] Concerning this passage Grillmeier wrote:

> It is also clear from Theodoret's often repeated distinction in the exegesis of John 2:19, 'Destroy this temple', that he was not wholly successful in distinguishing the 'personal unity' from a 'natural unity' and making the hypostasis of the Word visible as the only subject of the metaphysical 'I' in Christ. [...] We should not, however, read a duality of persons out of the repudiation of this 'me'. Here Theodoret's sole concern is not to permit the destruction of the Godhead as such and to exclude the Apollinarian Logos-sarx framework. Here, of course, he clearly lacks the right insight into the nature of the church's *praedicatio idiomatum*.[346]

I would substantially agree that the distinction of natures is the necessary step for Theodoret to uphold a union without confusion or detriment affecting either the Word or the humanity. Nevertheless, the *communicatio idiomatum* is not yet a valid theological standard at the time of the composition of *De incarnatione*, moreover, it will not yet become a valid standard for quite a long time, strictly speaking, not until 553 (and even then without an express statement). Even Cyril would not have admitted that the Godhead might have been destroyed, since he makes a distinction as it were, within the Word Himself, i.e. between His οὐσία and His ὑπόστασις. Perhaps that is one of the reasons why Grillmeier reproaches Theodoret for not having the right insight into the *praedicatio idiomatum*. In my opinion, though, this often seems to be an open debate with unconvincing results, since one has to admit that on both sides a certain distinction has to be made: either on the level of the uniting two natures or at the level of the Word

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[344] The *Formula of Reunion* contains the term also, labelling 'our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God' θεὸν τέλειον καὶ ἄνθρωπον τέλειον ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος (*ACO* I, 1, 4, 17; cf. Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 215-16).

[345] It is noteworthy that in opposition to the gospel's prologue, John 2:21 mentions the temple of Jesus's body (ἔλεγεν περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ) and not of His flesh. Similarly, throughout the entire story of His burial and redemption the term 'body' is used (see John 19:38-40; 20:12).

[346] Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 494.

Himself. Both approaches have their advantages and disadvantages: distinguishing on the level of the uniting natures as Theodoret, the Antiochenes and Pope Leo[347] were doing, is a practical and more obvious way – and therefore more vulnerable – since it sets a clear limit between the created and the uncreated οὐσίαι within Christ. This approach, as it has perhaps too often been stated, has the disadvantage of weakening the personal unity of Christ as being the Word Incarnate. The other distinction is the more obscure one, i.e. between the Word's own οὐσία and His ὑπόστασις. It has the advantage of maintaining an undisturbed, tension-free and total union within Christ, yet it clearly fails to respond to the challenges of the biblical narrative concerning His human manifestations, thus threatening to ignore or at least diminish the very nature He came to save. One might even say that in a certain sense the former is a Christological, the latter a soteriological danger. We have a more or less set pattern to measure Christological orthodoxy: we do not have one to assess the soteriological one, because the history of doctrine gradually moved away from the 'why' towards the 'who' and 'how', with the Fathers often forgetting that whatever we say in fact about these issues according to the best of our knowledge and good faith, we are still using a very imperfect analogous language, which on the ultimate level is simply incapable of expressing or even hinting to the realities we are talking about. Since it might take a whole PhD thesis in itself, I shall not try to define which mode of distinction has more substantial biblical support, but I reckon that the answer is far from being an obvious one. Paradoxically, this might well again depend on one's own reading of Scripture.

Although no real *communicatio idiomatum* is to be found in Theodoret's Christology, a peculiarly interesting manner of speech, however, is present within the sentence 'He teaches here both the mortality of the temple then'. The use of τὸ τηνικαῦτα gives the strong impression that this is not the final state and condition of the temple, which after the resurrection undergoes a change indeed, thus receiving some of the properties of the divine Word, just like ὁ κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος of Athanasius:[348]

> And this was destroyed, [in order] to enjoy an [even] greater resurrection: in order that the mortal nature might be put down; in order to take off corruptibility and put on incorruptibility; in order to dissolve the might [κράτος] of death, [and] to be the [very] first among those fallen asleep; in order that by relieving the labour-pains of corruption to appear as the firstborn from the dead, and by His own resurrection to proclaim the gospel of resurrection of all humankind (col. 1452BC).[349]

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[347] The acceptance of Leo's *Tome* in Chalcedon took place as a result of the explanation that he wrote the same what Cyril taught. Nonetheless, Leo's doctrinal authority over against the majority of the bishops present in Chalcedon (who voted for exactly the opposite doctrine two years before) cannot be held secondary. See also section *1.3 Between Ephesus and Chalcedon* in Ch. 1 of the present work.

[348] Cf. with Sellers' observation: 'Thus if the Alexandrians lay stress on the Incarnation, and [...] the Westerns on the Cross, the Antiochenes lay stress on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ'. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon*, 168, note 4.

[349] Cf. with Theodoret's little tract *That after the incarnation our Lord Jesus Christ is one Son* written in 448: 'As God He raised His own flesh which had died; since He says, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I shall raise it up." And as man, until [the time of] the passion, He was nonetheless passible and mortal. Since, after the resurrection, even as man He possesses the impassibility, immortality, and incorruptibility' (*PG* 83, 1433D).

This change of the temple after resurrection is therefore a kind of communication of properties, nevertheless, this change is fully consonant with Scripture (e. g. 1 Corinthians 15:42-43, 51-54). It is highly likely that Theodoret, who is first an exegete and then a dogmatician, professes this on primarily biblical grounds. The phrase τῆς φθορᾶς τὰς ὠδῖνας could well be understood here as the labour-pains of the world whilst waiting for its Redeemer. The entire soteriological and moral emphasis upon the human side of salvation converges to this central idea: the temple has to be destroyed in order to be resurrected gloriously and thus to bring redemption to all humankind of the same nature. This idea is present at the end of Ch. 19, where the human side is rendered in impersonal terms, yet the meaning is exactly the same:

> Yet we should listen to the Lord who said [John 10:18]. Since from these words we can learn that different is the one who lays down [the soul], and different is what is laid down [ἕτερος μὲν ὁ τιθείς, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ τιθέμενον]. On one hand, God is who lays down and takes on [ὁ τιθεὶς καὶ λαμβάνων]; on the other hand, the soul is that which is laid down and taken up [ἡ τιθεμένη καὶ λαμβανομένη]: and God is the One having the power [ἐξουσία], whereas the soul is subjected to that power (col. 1453B).

Theodoret once again speaks in a manner which enables the distinction, but does not disturb the unity of the Person. The Christological model in this instance is asymmetric: the One who lays down is a 'who', the one laid down is a 'what'. God is the exclusive possessor of the ἐξουσία, as we have seen it in Ch. 11, and the humanity – represented here by its most valuable element – is submitted to it. The difference lies in the fact that this submission in Theodoret's mind involves a voluntary act from the human side, the union being not only of necessity, but of will also. Moreover, one has to admit that on one hand Theodoret's 'what' is 'physically' more than the 'what' of Arius and Apollinaris, because it contains the rational human soul. Further, it is 'theologically' more than the 'what' of Cyril, since it is given a soteriological role and significance.

Whilst the recognition of this 'difference' is indispensable, it is still the Lord and God in the above passage who lays down and takes on, just is the same fashion as in Ch. 28 'the Master Christ' is the One, who 'removed that ancient and long-lasting tyranny and promised incorruptibility to those being in the fetters of corruption. By rebuilding and resurrecting the destroyed temple He presented for both the dead and for those awaiting His resurrection true and secure promises' (col. 1468CD). Therefore, the ascription of the work of salvation to the Word is not in jeopardy, although the author seeks to emphasise that 'the descendant of David' is not 'God by himself' but rather it was 'the temple of the God over all' in full union with the divinity as we have quoted above from Ch. 30 (col. 1472B). A very condense illustration of this whole question comes in the very short Ch. 31:

> That there are two natures, but one person of Christ [ὅτι δύο μὲν εἰσὶ φύσεις, ἓν δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Χριστοῦ]. […] [Hebrews 13:8]. For we neither divide the dispensation into two persons [πρόσωπα], nor do we preach or teach [κηρύττομέν τε καὶ δογματίζομεν] two sons instead of the Only-begotten, but we have been taught and teach that there are two natures. Because different [ἕτερον] is the Godhead and different [ἕτερον] is the

> manhood. Different is the existing, and different that which came into existence. The form of God is different [ἄλλο] from the form of man; the assuming is different from the assumed; the destroyed temple is different [ἕτερον ὁ λυθεὶς ναός] from the God who raised it up [ἕτερον ὁ λυθέντα τοῦτον ἀναστήσας θεός] (col. 1472C).

Despite the impersonal terms used for both natures the message remains identical: there is a distinction between what is proper to the manhood or to the Godhead ontologically or attributively. The use of ἄλλο for both natures is not done without the authority of the earlier fathers. Gregory Nazianzen in his *Letter* 101 a*d Cledonium* (*PG* 37, 180) solved the problem of Christology for his time by writing 'not somebody and somebody else' [οὐκ ἄλλος δὲ καὶ ἄλλος], 'but something and something else' [λέγω δὲ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο] are united in the one Person of Christ. Theodoret seems to have gone further, considering the Word of God as the Person within the union, whilst ascribing some deeds and sayings to the Word directly (i.e. ontologically) and some on account of the union (i.e. attributively). The legitimacy of such practice in the fifth century constitutes the next subject of our investigation.[350]

4.5.4 The attributive ascription of different deeds and its legitimacy

The closure of the otherwise terminologically clarifying Ch. 32 discusses the problem of attribution of different deeds and utterances to the Word and to the manhood respectively, confronting us with the question: to what extent could Theodoret's practice be justified in his own time? I quote the relevant passage first:

> Let us avoid that blasphemy [i.e. the confusion of the natures] and abandoning the mixture, let us apply consistently the terms of union, of connection and of togetherness, teaching a distinction of nature, and the unity of the person. Thus we refute the blasphemy of Arius and Eunomius, applying [προσάπτοντες] on one hand the humbly uttered and performed [words and deeds] [τὰ μὲν ταπεινῶς εἰρημένα καὶ πεπραγμένα] by the Saviour Christ to the form of the servant, whereas the sublime, God-worthy and great ones [τὰ δὲ ὑψηλὰ καὶ θεοπρεπῆ καὶ μεγάλα] we attribute to the sublime and great divinity, which surpasses every mind [πάντα νοῦν ὑπερβαινούσῃ ἀνατιθέντες θεότητι] (col. 1473B).

The idea of 'unmingled union' will be analysed in the terminological section. At this point we are interested in the second part of this quotation. The refutation of Arius and Eunomius is again not a mere denial of the major premise of the Arian syllogism but rather the ultimate defence of the Word's incorruptible and immutable divinity. In Theodoret's mind the ontological attribution of the human sufferings to the Word's οὐσία, i.e. to Him qua Logos (because there is no attribution to His ὑπόστασις, since the term is missing from Theodoret's Christological vocabulary) would mean an unacceptable confusion of the natures. Therefore he distinguishes between the two ways

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[350] The use of the term 'temple' is approved by the *Formula of Reunion*: ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς συλλήψεως ἑνῶσαι ἑαυτῷ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς [Μαρίας] ληφθέντα ναόν (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 216).

of predication of the same 'Saviour Christ': some of His deeds and words are connected to the form of the servant, others to the Godhead, yet He, i.e. ὁ Σωτὴρ Χριστός is the final addressee of all these ontologically different yet personally united attributions. Theodoret expresses the same in his answer to Cyril's fourth anathema, from which I quote the most representative passages:

> By assuming that there was a mixture [ὡς κράσεως γεγενημένης], he [Cyril] means that there is no difference of terms as used both in the holy Gospels and in the apostolic writings. And he [writes] these whilst bragging that he fights at once with Arius and Eunomius and the rest of the heresiarchs. Let then this exact teacher of the divine doctrines tell us how he would refute the blasphemy of the heretics, while applying [προσάπτων] to God the Word what is uttered [in the state of] humiliation [ταπεινῶς] and appropriately by the form of the servant. Since when doing so, those [heretics] indeed teach that the Son of God is inferior, a creature, made, and a servant.[351] […] Not then to God the Word does the ignorance belong, but to the form of the servant who at that time knew as much as the indwelling Godhead [ἡ ἐνοικοῦσα θεότης] revealed [ἀπεκάλυψεν]. The same thing may be said about other similar cases also. How for instance could it be reasonable for God the Word to say to the Father, 'Father if it were possible let this cup pass from me, nevertheless not as I will but as You will'? The absurdities [τὰ ἄτοπα] which necessarily follow are numerous. First, [it follows] that the Father and the Son are not of the same mind, and that the Father wishes one thing and the Son another. […] Therefore these words are not the words of the God-Word, but of the form of the servant, afraid of death because death was not yet destroyed. Surely God the Word permitted [συνεχώρησεν] the utterance of these [statements] allowing room [χώραν δεδωκώς] for fear, that the nature of the receiver may be shown [ἵνα φανῇ τοῦ δεχθέντος ἡ φύσις], and to prevent us supposing that which was [taken] of Abraham and David was an appearance [δόκησις] or phantasm. The assemblage of the impious heretics has given birth to this blasphemy through these sentiments. We shall therefore apply what is God-worthily [θεοπρεπῶς] spoken and done to the God-Word; on the other hand what is said and done in humility [τὰ δὲ ταπεινῶς εἰρημένα καὶ πεπραγμένα] we shall connect [προσαρμόσομεν] with the form of a servant, lest we be infected with the blasphemy of Arius and Eunomius.[352]

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[351] Cf. with the following passage of his *Letter to the Eastern monks* during the winter of 431-32: ἐν δὲ τῷ τετάρτῳ κεφαλαίῳ ἀπαγορεύει τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν καὶ ἀποστολικῶν φωνῶν τὴν διαίρεσιν, καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ κατὰ τὰς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πατέρων διδασκαλίας τὰς μὲν θεοπρεπεῖς φωνὰς περὶ τῆς θείας ἐκλαμβάνεσθαι φύσεως, τὰς δὲ ταπεινὰς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως εἰρημένας τῇ ἀναληφθείσῃ προσάπτειν ἀνθρωπότητι etc. (*SC* 429, 100).

[352] *ACO* I, 1, 6, 121-22. Cf. *NPNF* III, 27-28. It is also interesting to note that both in the anathema and in its apology Cyril speaks repeatedly of the attribution to a single πρόσωπον instead of two πρόσωπα. Theodoret, who never spoke of two πρόσωπα, seems to be in substantial accordance with Cyril's apology, yet this question is beyond the limits of our investigation.

All the already encountered themes and arguments return here. If we read the whole statement carefully (I did not quote it in its entirety because of its length), it becomes clear that the Godhead reveals the knowledge to the form of the servant, the Word gives room for fear and to the relevant utterances in Gethsemane in the same manner as we have seen it in the Temptation-story. The divine immutability and the reality of the manhood are defended against both Adoptionist and Docetist heresies in this reply, which even shows the author to be well ahead of his own time – at least concerning the real presence of 'the two wills' in Christ rediscovered and defended by Maximus the Confessor in the seventh century against Monotheletism and Monoenergism, the subsequently refined later developments of Monophysitism.

Most of the expressions are the same concerning the 'humble' and 'God-worthy' deeds and utterances both in Ch. 32 of *De incarnatione* and in the above reply to the fourth Cyrilline anathema, showing their common origin. In order to assess the legitimacy of this practice of attribution to the One Person on account of the union whilst maintaining that some deeds and utterances are ontologically proper to one of the οὐσίαι, we need to return to the theological standards of Theodoret's time.

The *Formula of Reunion*, which Cyril signed in 433 and endorsed with approval in his famous *Laetentur caeli* (I quote it from Cyril's letter), concludes:

> τὰς δὲ εὐαγγελικὰς καὶ ἀποστολικὰς περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου φωνὰς ἴσμεν τοὺς θεολόγους ἄνδρας τὰς μὲν κοινοποιοῦντας ὡς ἐφ᾽ ἑνὸς προσώπου, τὰς δὲ διαιροῦντας ὡς ἐπὶ δύο φύσεων, καὶ τὰς μὲν θεοπρεπεῖς κατὰ τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὰς δὲ ταπεινὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ παραδιδόντας (*ACO* I, 1, 4, 17).

It has to be observed that the text above indeed does not prescribe as it were the obligatory practice of such attribution, nevertheless, it clearly approves its validity based upon the authority τῶν θεολόγων ἀνδρων. If this manner of speech were not accepted in 433, the *Formula* would undoubtedly refer to 'the heretic blasphemers' or the like instead of οἱ θεολόγοι ἄνδρες. It is therefore clear that as far as the excommunication of those who would use such language goes the *Formula* directly opposes Cyril's fourth anathema, validating Theodoret's position expressed both in Ch. 32 of *De incarnatione* and in his counter-statement concerning the ascription of some Scriptural assertions to the Godhead and to the manhood of the one Christ respectively. The use of one πρόσωπον both by Theodoret and by the *Formula* constitutes the term of the union.

Another valid standard we may invoke here is again Leo's *Tome*. One of its passages objected to by the bishops from Illyria and Palestine as being 'Nestorian' reads:

> Sicut enim Deus non mutatur miseratione, ita homo non consumitur dignitate. Agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione[353] quod proprium est; Verbo silicet operante quod Verbi est, et carne exequente quod carni est. Unum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud succumbit injuriis (*Tomus* 4 in *ACO* II, 2, 1, 28).

[353] Cf. with Theodoret's term οἰκειόω.

We find here the same alternate predication of what belongs ontologically to the Word and to the flesh (i.e. to the two Pauline 'forms') as in Theodoret, whilst Leo is also keen to emphasise the union of subject[354] to whom all these are attributed on account of the union as our author. Another famous passage in *Tomus* 4 asserts:

> Ita non eiusdem naturae est dicere: 'Ego et Pater unum sumus', et dicere: 'Pater maior me est'. Quamvis enim in Domino Jesu Christo Dei et hominis una persona sit, aliud tamen est unde in utroque communis est contumelia, aliud unde communis est gloria (*ACO* II, 2, 1, 29).

This is perhaps one of the most eloquent examples of this manner of attribution. Leo distinguishes between what is proper to both natures ontologically, yet asserts simultaneously that whilst in the Lord Jesus Christ God and man is one person indeed, nevertheless, the source of degradation shared by both, is one, and the source of the glory – again shared by both – is another. It seems therefore that the manner of predication practised by Theodoret in *De incarnatione* is validated at least by these two theological standards of his time.

The assessment of the *Chalcedonense*, however, is more problematic. One of the fundamental questions is whether the *Definition* ought to be interpreted exclusively in the light of Constantinople 553 or not. The conclusions may differ accordingly whilst the limits of the present work are totally inadequate even for a brief overview of the pros and cons.

The issue at stake is the explanation of 'the One and the same': if it refers to 'the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ' at the beginning of the *Definition*, on one hand it may be argued that even the *Chalcedonense* does not speak against the manner of attribution we have seen in Theodoret, in the *Formula of Reunion* and in Leo's *Tome*. This would essentially mean that the *Chalcedonense* is a colonnaded corridor, the two extremes of which are marked by the four famous expressions (ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως) as one row of columns on each side, beyond which one may not go, yet within the limits of which both traditions may proceed side by side. Alexandria operated with the Λόγος–σάρξ model, Antioch with the Λόγος–ἄνθρωπος model. Without being utterly exclusive, Chalcedon creates perhaps for the first time in the history of doctrine a Λόγος–ἀνθρωπότης model, the human part of which is more than the occasional Alexandrian 'what' and less than the occasional Antiochene 'who'.

On the other hand, if we interpret the *Chalcedonense* through Constantinople 553 this corridor is necessarily cut in two in the middle and the path of Antioch – and beyond doubt the one of Leo – is forbidden, the only valid option remaining Alexandria's narrow passageway instead of a simultaneously validated parallel course. Nevertheless, whatever the judgement upon the *Chalcedonense* may be, it certainly cannot be claimed that it explicitly rejects those who would use Theodoret's and Leo's manner of attribution, the more so since it expressly states the preservation of the natures' unmingled properties.[355]

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[354] One of Leo's terms for the union is 'unam coeunte personam' (*Tomus* 3 in *ACO* II, 2, 1, 27).

[355] The *Definition* excludes categorically those who speak of two πρόσωπα, yet that is not valid for Theodoret, who – in opposition to the ambiguities of Nestorius – always condemned such utterances.

Thus, without ignoring Chalcedon's Cyrilline character, we may conclude that the manner of predication using the attributive ascription of different deeds and utterances to the One Lord was rather admitted than contradicted by the theological standards of Theodoret's time. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that during the years of his theological maturation – which are outside our present focus – the Bishop of Cyrus gradually abandons some practices, which made his early Christology vulnerable, including the concrete designations for the human nature as well as the strongly professed ontological attributions pertaining to it. It is time then to proceed to the analysis of the way he conceived the 'union'.

4.5.5 The union of worship – the 'cultic prosopon'

As our investigation led us to conclude, the author conceives a union without any confusion of the natures and without the diminishing of either. The next step is now to express its mode, i.e. to uphold a real ἕνωσις whilst preserving the τέλειον of both natures. The restored title of Ch. 21 (as quoted by Severus) contains three important expressions: 'distinction' [διακρίσις], as opposed to division or separation, 'union' [ἕνωσις], as opposed to confusion and Person [πρόσωπον] (occurring for the first time in *De incarnatione*) as opposed to πρόσωπα. The 'Demonstration of the distinction of natures and the unity of the Person from the Epistle to the Hebrews' is meant to serve this purpose. As our author writes:

> It can be seen more clearly from the Epistle to the Hebrews, that the divine nature and the human are different one from another according to their operations [ταῖς ἐνεργείαις μὲν διῃρημένας], but are united in the person [τῷ προσώπῳ δὲ συνημμένας] and show the One Son [καὶ τὸν ἕνα ὑποδεικνύσας Υἱόν] (col. 1456A).

The difference between διῃρημένας and συνημμένας underlies this idea of unmingled union: although the ἐνέργειαι are different, the 'being together', i.e. the union is real, since it happens on the level of the one πρόσωπον. The author repeatedly uses 'One Son' to contradict a virtual union. The recurrent argument of 'was' and 'became' during the analysis of the first verses of the Epistle to the Hebrews leads the author to express his views on this ἕνωσις again in a mainly asymmetrical manner, arriving at the assertion of a single worship of the one Son:

> But how can God, denominated with the article [ὁ θεός], whose throne stands forever and ever, be anointed [χρισθείη] by God? How could He receive kingdom by election [χειροτονητήν], when He [already] owns the kingdom by nature [φυσικὴν ἔχων βασιλείαν]? [...] So then again we will understand, that the One whose throne is for ever and ever is God, the eternal One [τὸν ἀεὶ ὄντα], whereas the latter [τὸν δὲ ὕστερον] being later anointed for his hatred towards sin and his love for righteousness is what was assumed from us [τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν ληφθέν], which [τό] is of David and of Abraham, which has fellows and exceeds them by anointment, possessing in itself [ἐν

> ἑαυτῷ][356] all the gifts of the most Holy Spirit. Hence, let us worship the one Son in both natures [ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ δὲ φύσει τὸν ἕνα Υἱὸν προσκυνήσωμεν] (col. 1456CD).

The last sentences of the passage are not easily translatable into English in order to reflect Theodoret's formulation accurately. In my understanding, the author speaks of the assumed humanity taken on by the Word out of David and Abraham as 'what', granting it the title of 'person', i.e. of 'who', only from the moment of its union with the Logos. The pre-existence of a separate human person as opposed to the person of the Word preceding the union does not seem to possess any substantial support within the treatise, although Theodoret refers to the assumed manhood in concrete terms after the union has been effected. As he himself will assert in Ch. 32:

> We both recognise the nature of the God-Word and acknowledge the essence of the form of the servant; nevertheless, we worship both natures as one Son [ἑκατέραν δὲ φύσιν ὡς ἕνα προσκυνοῦμεν Υἱόν] (col. 1472D).

The duality of persons is in both cases refuted by the unity of worship. This is what during our private consultations Prof. L. Abramowski came to label as the Antiochene 'liturgical' or 'cultic' prosopon, or even the 'one worship of the one prosopon', emphasising that the confession of a true personal union can be accepted as valid if it is supported by a union of worship, since the liturgical act is one of the most fundamental and the least changing features of any ecclesiastical tradition. To this I would like to add the observation that in both the above cases Theodoret speaks of a worship belonging to both natures [ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ δὲ φύσει] as to 'the One Son' [τὸν ἕνα Υἱόν], admitting, as it were, the prevalence of the Word within the one veneration. I think that Theodoret is in substantial agreement with Cyril's eighth anathema despite his counter-statement which is rather concerned to speak of the same One whilst preserving the properties of each nature:

> As I have often said, the doxology which we offer to the Master Christ is one [μίαν [...] τὴν δοξολογίαν προσφέρομεν], and we confess the same [τὸν αὐτόν] to be at once God and man, as the method of the union [ὁ τῆς ἑνώσεως λόγος] has taught us; but we shall not shrink from speaking of the properties [τὰς ἰδιότητας] of the natures. For the God-Word did not accept a change into flesh [τὴν εἰς σάρκα τροπήν], nor yet again did the man [ὁ ἄνθρωπος] lose what [ὅ] he was and undergo transformation [μετεβλήθη] into the nature of God. Therefore, maintaining [λέγοντες] the properties [τὰ ἴδια] of each nature, we worship the Master Christ (*ACO* I, 1, 6, 132).

Theodoret recognised the Son as the divine Word and the Son of Man as being 'one and the same' [εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτός] after the union, without division [χωρισμός] in his early years already, since he writes in Ch. 12 of the *Expositio rectae fidei*:

> Οὕτως ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτός, καὶ τοῦ παναγίου σώματος, οὐκ ἄν τις εἴποι μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, τὸν μὲν κεχωρισμένως Υἱὸν τὸν θεῖον

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[356] Following the rationale of the preceding sentences I translated ἐν ἑαυτῷ with 'in itself'.

> Λόγον, τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ἀλλ᾽ ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἑκάτερα νοήσει, ὡς ἓν φῶς καὶ ἕνα ἥλιον, τό τε δεχθὲν φῶς, τό τε δεξάμενον σῶμα. Πάλιν ὡς ἓν μὲν φῶς, καὶ εἷς ἥλιος, φύσεις δὲ δύο· ἡ μὲν φωτός, ἡ δὲ σώματος ἡλιακοῦ· οὕτω κἀνταῦθα, εἷς μὲν ὁ Υἱός, καὶ Κύριος, καὶ Χριστὸς, καὶ Μονογενής· φύσεις δὲ δύο· ἡ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα (*PG* 6, 1229D-1232A, cf. de Otto, *Iustini Opera*, 48).

One ought not make Theodoret automatically 'a Chalcedonian before Chalcedon' based on the above ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, yet it has to be admitted that the writing of the *Expositio* preceded the entire Nestorian controversy.[357] The basic picture did not change, only the times did since the writing of the 'Exposition of the right faith', so certain issues had to be readdressed from different angles. It may therefore not be an error to interpret both passages from Ch. 21 and 32 of *De incarnatione* as well as the counter-statement to the eighth anathema in the light of what their author had expressed some years before, when he was not writing under the influence of any theological or church-political confrontation. Clayton seems to do the opposite, for he comments on Theodoret's eighth counter-statement in the following way:

> Again Theodoret chooses to ignore the challenge to his two subject Christological model and answering with phrases which would sound Chalcedonian if one did not have the *De incarnatione* to interpret what lies behind them. [...] 'Christ' is the name for the *prosopon* shared by the *hypostasis* of the human *physis*, whose it properly is, and also by the *hypostasis* of the Word, perfect from before time. This method of union is not the same as Cyril's ἕνωσις φυσική or the hypostatic union of Chalcedon (Clayton, 'Theodoret', 275-76).

The author presupposes here a two-hypostases model underlying Theodoret's Christology, which does not seem to have any substantial evidence in the text of *De incarnatione*.[358] Moreover, the passage from the *Expositio*, which also precedes the counter-statements, seems in fact to suggest the opposite. The two-φύσεις model is nonetheless present and with the insistence upon the unity of the person, it was validated by Chalcedon. Clayton is right in asserting that the method of union presented here by Theodoret is not the same as Cyril's ἕνωσις φυσική. It cannot be, since the famous Cyrilline term was admitted neither by the *Formula of Reunion* nor by the *Chalcedonense*. It is Clayton's right to assume that Theodoret's method of union is not the hypostatic union of Chalcedon either. Nevertheless, Cyril's ἕνωσις φυσική as we find it in his third anathema is equally at variance with Chalcedon's hypostatic union.[359] The ever-recurrent mistake of Clayton is that he measures Theodoret continuously against Cyril's twelve anathemas, which most emphatically were not a recognised

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[357] Richard, 'L'activité littéraire de Théodoret', 103.

[358] Clayton writes that 'for the Bishop of Cyrus *hypostasis* is still a function of *physis*' (Ibid., 265). Hence, it was not the Bishop of Cyrus who equated these two terms in solemn anathemas. See section *4.5.6 Terminology* at the end of this chapter.

[359] In my reading of Chalcedon Cyril's ἕνωσις φυσική as it appears in the third anathema of the great Alexandrian is not Chalcedon's hypostatic union understood, as it were, ἐν δύο φύσεσιν. Clayton, however, does not discuss this in his analysis of Cyril's Christology (see his note 7 on 258-262).

theological standard of the Ephesian-Chalcedonian period, having been validated ecclesiastically more than a century after their composition. Moreover, many statements within these anathemas were flatly contradicted by the recognised theological standards of the period (i.e. by the *Formula of Reunion*, by the *Tome of Leo* and by the *Chalcedonense*) as we have seen above.

Let us return then to the analysis of Theodoret's 'union of worship' of the one πρόσωπον. Its importance cannot be ignored, the more so since the idea is present in four of his replies to Cyril's anathemas. The first three occurrences are noteworthy also because they appear before the reply to the eighth anathema, which is the only one related indeed to the question of worship.[360] Whilst being concerned with the Cyrilline 'hypostatic union' in *Anathema* 2, Theodoret concludes:

> Therefore the union according to hypostasis, which I think they put before us instead of mixture [ἀντὶ κράσεως], is superfluous. It is quite sufficient to declare the union [τὴν ἕνωσιν], which both shows [δείκνυσιν] the properties of the natures [τὰς τῶν φύσεων ἰδιότητας] and teaches [us] to worship the one Christ [καὶ τὸν ἕνα προσκυνεῖν διδάσκει Χριστόν] (*ACO* I, 1, 6, 115).

The emphasis upon this 'union of worship' due to the One Christ is not an empty or negligible formula, but rather the counterpart of the equal worship given to the three ὑποστάσεις of the Trinity.[361] As we have seen at the end of Ch. 8 of *De Trinitate*, the Word receives the same worship with the Father from the believers: τὴν μετὰ Πατρὸς παρὰ τῶν εὐγνωμόνων προσκύνησιν δέχεται (col. 1157B).[362] This is one of Theodoret's ways to show that the Word ἀεὶ τῷ Πατρὶ σύνεστι (col. 1157B).[363] The union of worship as a picture of the unity within the Triad is expressed also by the repeated use of the formula 'we, the worshippers of the Triad' in Ch. 4 and Ch. 15 of *De Trinitate*.[364]

Similarly, the worship (the least changing aspect of church life) concerning Jesus Christ is not a simple liturgical but also a Christological issue. That is why Theodoret emphasises the 'union of worship' against what he thinks involves a mixture in Cyril's fifth anathema. The Son is the Person and the manhood is the object:

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[360] Apart from the reply to *Anathema* 8, the idea of the single worship returns in the answer to the first, second and fifth anathema. See below.

[361] Cf. with the *Confession* of Athanasius: πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Μονογενῆ Λόγον, σοφίαν, Υἱὸν […] τὴν ἀληθινὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Πατρὸς ἰσότιμον καὶ ἰσόδοξον (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 265). See also Gregory Nazianzen's *Oratio* 41 *on Pentecost*: Πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας […] δι᾽ οὗ Πατὴρ γινώσκεται, καὶ Υἱὸς δοξάζεται, καὶ παρ᾽ ὧν μόνων γινώσκεται, μία σύνταξις, λατρεία μία, προσκύνησις, δύναμις, τελειότης, ἁγιασμός (*PG* 36, 441C).

[362] Cf. with Gregory of Nyssa's following statement: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν μία προσκύνησις καὶ δοξολογία τοῖς τρισὶν ὡς ἑνὶ θεῷ (*De creatione hominis sermo primus* in *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, 9 vols + Suppl. (Leiden: Brill, 1952-96), Suppl., 8a.

[363] Theodoret's answer to the first anathema contains the very same idea: [ὁ θεὸς Λόγος] τῷ Πατρὶ συνὼν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς γνωριζόμενός τε καὶ προσκυνούμενος (*ACO* I, 1, 6, 109).

[364] Cf. with his *Letter* 126 *to Aphtonius etc.*: οἱ τῆς ἀϊδίου Τριάδος προσκυνηταί (*SC* 111, 98).

> Thus, while we use the label 'sharing' [τῷ τῆς κοινωνίας ὀνόματι χρώμενοι] we worship both Him that took and that which was taken as one Son [ὡς ἕνα μὲν Υἱὸν προσκυνοῦμεν τὸν λαβόντα καὶ τὸ ληφθέν]. Nevertheless, we acknowledge [γνωρίζομεν] the distinction [τὴν διαφοράν] of the natures (*ACO* I, 1, 6, 126).

It may be argued that this single worship of the One Son in both natures is one of the most decisive factors in Theodoret's mind as to determine who is teaching 'two Sons'. The idea reappears both in his works and in his correspondence. His little tract entitled *That after the Incarnation our Lord Jesus Christ is one Son* was written in 448, shortly after the *Eranistes*.[365] It contains Theodoret's apology against the charge of teaching 'two Sons'. At its very beginning we read:

> Those who gather slanders against us claim that we divide our one Lord Jesus Christ into two sons. Nevertheless, we are so far from conceiving such things that we charge with impiety [all] those who even dare to say so.[366] Since we have been taught by the divine Scripture to worship one Son [ἕνα Υἱὸν προσκυνεῖν], our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, the God-Word made human (*PG* 83, 1433AB).

In fact the entire defence of the author's orthodoxy in this tract is based upon this recurrent idea of the union of worship, which a little later he combines with the natures' perfection as well as with the ontological naming analysed above:

> We therefore worship the Son, but we contemplate in Him each nature in its perfection [ἑκατέραν δὲ φύσιν τελείαν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωροῦμεν], both that which took on and that which was taken; the one of God and the other of David. For this reason He is named [ὀνομάζεται] both Son of the living God and Son of David, thus either nature receiving its proper title [ἑκατέρας φύσεως τὴν ἁρμόττουσαν ἐλκούσης προσηγορίαν] (*PG* 83, 1436AB).

It is superfluous to repeat the issues already discussed. Nevertheless, a very representative occurrence in the same tract ought to be observed, since there the author connects his concept of Christological union with specific acts of worship:

> The slanderers who assert that we venerate [πρεσβεύειν] two sons [are refuted by] the flagrant testimony of the facts [βοᾷ τῶν πραγμάτων ἡ μαρτυρία]. Since for all those who come to the all-holy Baptism we teach the faith laid forth at Nicaea. And when we celebrate the mystery of rebirth [τὸ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἐπιτελοῦντες μυστήριον] we baptise those who believe in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, pronouncing each name by itself [ἑνικῶς ἑκάστην προσηγορίαν προσφέροντες]. And

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[365] ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν εἷς Υἱὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός – published as an appendix to *Letter* 151 *to the monks of the East* (which was written in 431-32) in *PG* 83, 1433-1440. M. Richard proved that the tract is a later composition, subsequent to the *Eranistes*. See M. Richard, 'Un écrit de Théodoret sur l'unité du Christ après l'Incarnation', *RSPT*, 24 (1935), 34-61.

[366] *Anathema* 6 of Ambrose quoted with approval by Theodoret (as written by Damasus) in *HE* reads: ἀναθεματίζομεν καὶ τοὺς δύο Υἱοὺς εἶναι διισχυριζομένους, ἕνα πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἄλλον μετὰ τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας ἀνάληψιν (*GCS* 44, 298).

> when we are performing divine service in the churches it is our custom to glorify the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit: not sons, but Son. If then we proclaim two sons, which [of the two] is glorified by us and which one remains unhonoured [ἀγέραστος]? For we have not quite reached such [a level of] insanity as to assert two sons, yet not to honour one of them with any respect. It is clear from this, therefore, that the slander is [slander], since we worship one Only-begotten Son, the God-Word made man (*PG* 83, 1437AB).[367]

Thus, we can conclude that the issue at stake for the Bishop of Cyrus concerning a true confession of the One Christ as the single subject of ultimate attributions is the unambiguous single worship. He invokes this argument repeatedly in his correspondence, often bound together with the idea of the reality of both natures and the *communicatio onomaton* we have analysed before. I shall quote some of the most relevant ones mentioning their time of composition, yet without adding further comments and letting the passages speak for themselves:[368]

> In this way [i.e. because of the unmingled union] I declare that the same Master Christ both suffers and destroys suffering; on one hand, He suffers according to the visible [κατὰ τὸ ὁρώμενον],[369] and destroys suffering as touching the ineffably indwelling Godhead. This is proved clearly also by the narrative of the holy gospels, from where we learn that whilst lying in a manger and wrapped in swaddling clothes, He was announced by a star, worshipped [προσεκυνεῖτο] by magi and hymned [ὑμνεῖτο] by angels.[370] […] For He who was born of her [i.e. Mary] is not revered on her account [δι᾽ αὐτὴν σεβάσμιος], but rather she is honoured [καλλύνεται] with the greatest titles on account of Him Who was born of her (*Letter* 151 written in 431-32 – *SC* 429, 114-16 and 122).
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> Although you have not yet met me, I think that your excellency is aware of the open calumnies that have been published against me, for you have often heard me preaching in church, when I have proclaimed the One Lord Jesus, and have pointed out both the properties [ἴδια] of the Godhead and of the manhood; for we do not divide [διαιροῦμεν] the One Son into two, but, worshipping the

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[367] The same liturgical defence of Theodoret's orthodoxy returns almost word by word in his *Letter* 146 *to the monks of Constantinople* written in the first half of 451. See *SC* 111, 178.

[368] I have largely followed the translations of B. Jackson in *NPNF* III.

[369] Cf. Theodoret's *Comm. on Romans* 8:29 written in 436-38: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀόρατος ἡ θεία φύσις, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ὁρατόν, ὡς ἐν εἰκόνι τινὶ διὰ τοῦ σώματος προσκυνεῖται (*PG* 82, 141B).

[370] See his *Commentary on Hebrews* 1:6: πῶς δὲ Πρωτότοκος ὁ Μονογενής; εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν αὐτὸν οἱ ἄγγελοι προσεκύνησαν, πρὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ταύτην αὐτῷ τιμὴν οὐ προσέφερον; […] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν ὡς θεός, καὶ ἦλθεν ὡς ἄνθρωπος. οὕτω καὶ Μονογενής ἐστιν ὡς θεός, καὶ Πρωτότοκος ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. οὕτως ἀεὶ τὸ σέβας παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐδέχετο· ἦν γὰρ ἀεὶ θεός· προσεκύνησαν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπον (*PG* 82, 685BC).

> Only-begotten, point out the distinction [τὸ διάφορον] between flesh and Godhead (*Letter* 99 *to Claudianus* written in Nov. 448 – *SC* 111, 16).[371]
>
> Know then, O holy and godly sir that no one has ever at any time heard us preaching two sons; in fact this doctrine seems to me abominable and impious, for there is one Lord Jesus Christ through whom all things are. Him I acknowledge both as eternal God and as man in the end of days, and I give Him one worship as Only-begotten. I was taught, however, the distinction [τὸ διάφορον] between flesh and Godhead, for the union is unmingled [ἀσύγχυτος γὰρ ἡ ἕνωσις]. […] For, even after the incarnation, we worship one Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, and call as impious all who hold otherwise (*Letter* 104 *to Flavianus* written in Dec. 448 – *SC* 111, 24-26 and 28).
>
> And though the distinction [τὸ διάφορον] of the natures is equally recognised, the One Son ought to be worshipped, and the same ought to be recognised as Son of God and Son of man, form of God and form of the servant, Son of David and Lord of David, seed of Abraham and creator of Abraham. The union [ἕνωσις] causes the names to be common [κοινὰ ποιεῖ τὰ ὀνόματα], but the community of the names does not confound [οὐ συγχεῖ] the natures.[372] Since it is clear for the sound-minded that some [names] are appropriate as to God and others as to man. In this way both the passible and the impassible are befitting [ἁρμόττει] for the Master Christ, since on one hand He suffered according to the humanity [κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον], whilst on the other hand He remained impassible as God [ὡς θεός] (*Letter* 131 *to Bishop Timotheus* written in mid-450 – *SC* 111, 116-18).
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> Once for all, fighting against each heresy, we command [παρρεγγυῶμεν] [all] to worship the One Son. […] If, according to these calumnies, we venerate two sons, which one do we glorify and which one do we leave unworshipped? Since it were the most extreme insanity to believe that there are two sons, yet to give the doxology to one alone [ἑνὶ δὲ μόνῳ] (*Letter* 146 *to the monks of Constantinople* written in the first half of 451 – *SC* 111, 178)
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> It is said that […] after certain presbyters had offered prayer, and concluded it in the wonted manner, while some said 'For to You belongs glory and to Your Christ and to the Holy Spirit' and others 'Through grace and loving kindness of Your Christ, with whom belongs glory to You with Your Holy Spirit,' the very wise archdeacon prohibited the use of the expression, 'the Christ' and said that the 'Only-begotten' ought to be glorified. If this is true it were impossible to exceed the impiety. For he either divides the one Lord Jesus

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[371] ἕνα μὲν Υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οἶδα καὶ προσκυνῶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· τῆς δὲ θεότητος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τὴν διαφορὰν ἐδιδάχθην (*Eranistes*, 135).

[372] See Theodoret's *Commentary* on Ephesians 1:20-22: τὸ δὲ τὴν ληφθεῖσαν ἐξ ἡμῶν φύσιν τῆς αὐτῆς τῷ λαβόντι μετέχειν τιμῆς, ὥστε μηδεμίαν φαίνεσθαι διαφορὰν προσκυνήσεως, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ὁρωμένης φύσεως τὴν ἀόρατον προσκυνεῖσθαι θεότητα, τοῦτο παντὸς ἐπέκεινα θαύματος (*PG* 82, 517A).

> Christ into two sons and regards the only begotten Son as lawful and natural, but the Christ as adopted and spurious, and consequently unworthy for being honoured in doxology; or else he is endeavouring to support the heresy which has now burst in on us with the riot of wild revelry. […] Copious additional evidence may be found whereby it may be learnt without difficulty that our Lord Jesus Christ is no other person than the Son who completes the Trinity. […] Let no one then foolishly suppose that the Christ is any other than the only begotten Son. […] One point, however, I cannot endure to omit. He is alleged to have said that there are many Christs but one Son. Into this error I suppose he fell through ignorance. For if he had read the divine Scripture, he would have known that the title of the Son has also been bestowed by our bountiful Lord on many. […] If then, because the name [τὸ ὄνομα] of the Christ is common, we neither should glorify the Christ as God, nor worship Him as Son, since this name has also been bestowed upon many. And why do I say the Son? The very name [προσηγορία] of God itself has been received by many as given [to them] by God. […] 'I have said you are gods'[373] […] But this common use of titles [τὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων ὁμώνυμον] does not offend those who are instructed in piety. […] Thus, though many are named fathers, we worship One Father, the Father before the ages, the One who gave this title [τὴν ἐπίκλησιν] to men, according to the words of the Apostle [Ephesians 3:14-15]. Let us not then, because others are called christs, rob ourselves of the worship of our Lord Jesus Christ.[374] For just as though many are called gods and fathers, there is One God over all and Father before the ages; and though many are called sons, there is One true and natural Son [εἷς ὁ ἀληθινὸς καὶ φύσει Υἱός]; and though many are labelled spirits there is One All-Holy Spirit; in the same fashion, though many are called christs there is One Lord Jesus Christ by Whom all things are. And very properly does the Church cling to this name [ἐξήρτηται τοῦ ὀνόματος]; for she has heard Paul, escorter of the Bride [τοῦ νυμφοστόλου], exclaiming 'I have espoused you to one husband that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ' (*Letter* 147 *to John the oeconomus* written in 451 – *SC* 111, 201-20).

The evidence gathered here at some length is quite conclusive. In Theodoret's understanding (from the time of *De incarnatione* until the months leading to Chalcedon) one's Christological orthodoxy is measurable by the question 'whom do you worship?' Although τὸ διάφορον of the natures cannot be ignored, this does not impair by any means the ἀσύγχυτος ἕνωσις within the ἓν πρόσωπον, who is the One and the same Son, Word and Master Christ and who should be worshipped with a single veneration. In order to determine whether this approach was an exclusive peculiarity of the Bishop of Cyrus in the Ephesian-Chalcedonian period or was used by other former or contemporary theologians also, we need to take a glance at the issue within a wider perspective.

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[373] Psalm 82:6.

[374] Cf. with Ch. 24 of *De incarnatione*: ὑπὸ τοῦ Συμεὼν προσκυνεῖται, καὶ Σωτὴρ ὁμοῦ καὶ Δεσπότης προσαγορεύεται (*PG* 75, 1461C).

One of the earlier testimonies concerning the matter is the *Creed* ascribed to either a Nicene or Antiochene council against Paul of Samosata (preserved in the Ephesian Acts of 431), which confesses 'our Lord Jesus Christ' in the following manner:

> οὕτως ὅλον προσκυνητὸν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα προσκυνητόν, ὅλον προσκυνοῦντα καὶ μετὰ τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα προσκυνοῦντα.[375]

Although the Antiochene provenience of this creed is not entirely proven (some suspect that it may have come from the school of Apollinaris,[376] yet I have some doubts concerning this, since the keyword for the humanity is σῶμα and not σάρξ as we shall see below by Apollinaris), nevertheless, this is a further hint that the union of worship may have been a major issue for the Alexandrian party also. Here is what Athanasius writes in his *Commentary on Psalm* 99:5 (LXX: Ps. 98:5):

> ὁ ὑψηλὸς ὡς θεὸς καὶ ὑπὸ πόδας ἔχων πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν γέγονεν ἀτρέπτως ἄνθρωπος. Τοῦτον οὖν, φησί, τὸν γενόμενον ἀτρέπτως ἄνθρωπον ὑψοῦτε, προσκυνοῦντες αὐτὸν μιᾷ προσκυνήσει μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκός (*PG* 27, 421C).

Apart from the double emphasis upon the 'unchanged' manner of God's becoming man, we encounter here a recurrent Alexandrian expression concerning the single worship 'of the Word together with His own flesh'.[377] Apollinaris' famous confession περὶ τῆς σαρκώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου – held by Cyril as coming from Athanasius – apart from the phrase of 'one incarnate nature' adopted by Cyril reads:

> οὐ δύο φύσεις τὸν ἕνα Υἱόν, μίαν προσκυνητὴν καὶ μίαν ἀπροσκυνητήν, ἀλλὰ μίαν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένην καὶ προσκυνουμένην μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ μιᾷ προσκυνήσει […] ἢ εἴ τις […] ἀπροσκυνητὴν [λέγει] τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν σάρκα ὡς ἀνθρώπου, καὶ μὴ προσκυνητὴν ὡς Κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ σάρκα, τοῦτον ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 267-68).[378]

It appears that the 'one worship' belonging to the One Christ was not of secondary importance for Alexandrian theologians, although Apollinaris introduces a 'natural union' deriving from this union of worship, which the other party – and the whole church indeed – did not approve, whilst still maintaining the one veneration. Apollinaris endorses it emphatically in his *Confession* in ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις asserting of the Son of God made man:

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[375] Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 182; cf. *ACO* I, 1, 5, 6.
[376] See Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 182, note 42.
[377] Cf. with the *Confession* of the Apollinarian Bishop Jobius: προσκυνούμενον δὲ καὶ δοξαζόμενον μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκός (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 285).
[378] Caspari proved the authorship of Apollinaris in C. P. Caspari, *Alte und Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, 3 vols (Malling: Christiania, 1879), I, 119. In his Προσφωνητικὸς ταῖς εὐσεβεστάταις δεσποίναις, Cyril quotes almost the entire text of Apollinaris's above *Confession* introducing it with the following formula: ἔφη τοίνυν ὁ τρισμακάριος ἀληθῶς καὶ διαβόητος εἰς εὐσέβειαν ˚Αθανάσιος etc. (*ACO* I, 1, 5, 65).

> ἓν πρόσωπον, καὶ μίαν τὴν προσκύνησιν τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς σαρκός, ἣν ἀνέλαβεν· καὶ ἀναθεματίζομεν τοὺς διαφόρους προσκυνήσεις ποιοῦντας, μίαν θεϊκὴν καὶ μίαν ἀνθρωπίνην, καὶ προσκυνοῦντας τὸν ἐκ Μαρίας ἄνθρωπον ὡς ἕτερον ὄντα παρὰ τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ θεόν […] γενόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν προσκυνοῦμεν, οὐχ ὡς ἴσον ἐν ἴσῳ γενόμενον τῷ σώματι […] οὐδὲ γὰρ τεσσάρα προσκυνεῖν λέγομεν, θεὸν καὶ Υἱὸν θεοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Διὸ καὶ ἀναθεματίζομεν τοὺς οὕτως ἀσεβοῦντας, τοὺς ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ θείᾳ δοξολογία τιθέντας.[379]

This is arguably one of the main sources of the eighth Cyrilline anathema and constitutes the very charge Theodoret continued to fight against. Maintaining τὸ διάφορον of the natures (which Apollinaris did not admit of course, yet that is why he was heterodox), he simultaneously refused any διάφορον in the worship. We shall return to the Alexandrian party contemporary to Theodoret, yet before that let us take a glance at his own tradition. In his *Confession* Theodore of Mopsuestia (perhaps reacting to some extent to the allegations of Apollinaris) writes about the 'perfect human being' assumed by 'the Master God-Word':

> παρὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως δέχεται προσκύνησιν, ὡς ἀχώριστον πρὸς τὴν θειαν φύσιν ἔχων τὴν συνάφειαν, ἀναφορᾷ θεοῦ καὶ ἐννοίᾳ πάσης αὐτῷ τῆς κτίσεως τὴν προσκύνησιν ἀπονεμοῦσης. Καὶ οὔτε δύο φαμὲν υἱοὺς οὔτε δύο κυρίους, ἐπειδὴ εἷς θεὸς κατ᾽ οὐσίαν ὁ θεὸς Λόγος, ὁ Μονογενὴς Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, ᾧπερ οὗτος συνημμένος τε καὶ μετέχων θεότητος κοινωνεῖ τῆς Υἱοῦ προσηγορίας τε καὶ τιμῆς […] ὑπὲρ ὧν δὴ καὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν καὶ ἀναφορὰν θεοῦ παρὰ πάσης δέχεται τῆς κτίσεως (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 303).

A more distilled yet less technical expression of the same concept is found in John Chrysostom's treatise *De sancta Trinitate*, in which the famous Antiochene preacher brings the idea of the single worship closer to the Athanasian emphasis quoted above. As Chrysostom writes,

> ὁρᾶτε μυστήριον. ἐπειδὴ ἤμελλε χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας τὴν ἡμετέραν σάρκα ἑνοῦν ἑαυτῷ εἰς μίαν προσκύνησιν, ἡ δὲ σάρξ ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ ᾽Αδάμ, ἐκ τῆς γῆς· κατὰ τοῦτο λέγει, Καὶ προσκυνεῖτε τῷ ὑποποδίῳ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ. ἡμεῖς τῇ γῇ οὐ προσκυνοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ Λόγῳ τῷ ἑνώσαντι ἑαυτῷ χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς πλασθεῖσαν τοῦ ᾽Αδὰμ σάρκα (*PG* 48, 1096A).

It is therefore fair to assume that in both traditions the idea of the single worship of the One Son incarnate was by no means of secondary importance regarding the Christological personal union also. In fact, Cyril is one of the most vigorous defenders of

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[379] Hans Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1904), 177-79. Cf. with the homily of Paul, Bishop of Emesa preserved in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus (uttered in Alexandria in the presence of Cyril): διὰ τοῦτο Τριάδα, οὐ τετράδα προσκυνοῦμεν, Πατέρα καὶ ἕνα Υἱὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἀναθεματίζομεν δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας δύο υἱοὺς καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλομεν περιβόλων (*ACO* I, 1, 4, 10).

this idea, which reappears in his letter to Nestorius and in his eighth anathema, notably bound in both cases to the union of the person:

> οὕτω Χριστὸν ἕνα καὶ Κύριον ὁμολογήσομεν, οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπον συμπροσκυνοῦντες τῷ Λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ τιμῆς φαντασία παρεισκρίνηται διὰ τοῦ λέγειν τὸ σύν· ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν προσκυνοῦντες […] ὡς ἑνὸς καθ᾽ ἕνωσιν, μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκός (*Ep. dogm.* in Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 312; cf. *ACO* I, 1, 1, 28).

Thus, a duality of subjects is refuted by the denial of a divided worship or a 'common worship'. We shall reflect upon Cyril's overall suspicion concerning the preposition σύν in the terminological section. At this point, however, it ought to be observed how much weight he lays upon the one worship as the proof of a true confession of the unity in Christ in his eighth anathema:

> εἴ τις τολμᾷ λέγειν τὸν ἀναληφθέντα ἄνθρωπον συμπροσκυνεῖσθαι δεῖν τῷ θεῷ Λόγῳ καὶ συνδοξάζεσθαι καὶ συγχρηματίζειν θεὸν ὡς ἕτερον [Hahn adds: ἐν] ἑτέρῳ (τὸ γὰρ σὺν ἀεὶ προστιθέμενον τοῦτο νοεῖν ἀναγκάζει), καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον μιᾷ προσκυνήσει τιμᾷ τὸν ᾽Εμμανουὴλ καὶ μίαν αὐτῷ τὴν δοξολογίαν ἀνάπτει [Hahn: ἀναπέμπει], καθὸ γέγονε σάρξ ὁ Λόγος, ἀ. ἔ. (*ACO* I, 1, 6, 131; cf. Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 314).

As shown by the evidence, although he did not share Cyril's worries concerning the 'σύν', Theodoret emphasised the 'one worship' as προσκύνησις rather than συμπροσκύνησις. In his short reply to Anathema 8 he asserts μίαν τὴν δοξολογίαν προσφέρομεν explaining that this does not remove the natures' properties, which in their turn do not impair the union. Leo touches the issue briefly:

> Similis est rudimentis hominum, quem Herodes impie molitur occidere; sed Dominus est omnium, quem Magi gaudent suppliciter *adorare* […] Quem itaque sicut hominem diabolica tentat astutia, eidem sicut Deo angelica *famulantur* officia (*Tomus* 4 in *ACO* II, 2, 1, 28-29).[380]

Without lengthening the gathering of evidence any further,[381] I would like to refer to one of the most interesting climaxes concerning the avowal of a single worship bound together with the confession concerning the existence of both natures. This is the case of Basil of Seleucia, who according to the Acts of Chalcedon, asserted:

> προσκυνῶ τὸν ἕνα Κύριον ἡμῶν ᾽Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Μονογενῆ, τὸν θεὸν Λόγον μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν καὶ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν ἐν δύο φύσεσιν γνωριζόμενον (*ACO* II, 1, 1, 92-93).

According to the minutes of the council a huge uproar followed this sentence from the side of the Egyptian and Eastern bishops, who repeatedly protested against 'the

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[380] Cf. the end of *De incarnatione*, Ch. 14 quoted above in the section on the Temptation (col. 1441D).

[381] For the importance of the unity of worship for both parties as a sign of teaching 'One Son' during the Nestorian controversy cf. *ACO* I, 1, 1, 18, 23, 35, 37, 41, 53, 62-63; *ACO* I, 1, 2, 44, 48-49, 71, 92, 95, 101; *ACO* I, 1, 4, 25, 27; *ACO* I, 1, 5, 21-23, 31, 49, 64, 65; *ACO* I, 1, 6, 8, 20, 32, 46-54, 132; *ACO* I, 1, 7, 39, 48-50, 83, 93, 98-99, 108-109, 139; *ACO* I, 5, 1, 225, 230.

separation of the indivisible': τὸν ἀμέριστον μηδεὶς χωριζέτω. Although Basil defended the union, he did not shrink to speak of the natures' properties and said:

> ἀνάθεμα τῷ μερίζοντι, ἀνάθεμα τῷ διαιροῦντι τὰς φύσεις μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν· ἀνάθεμα δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ γνωρίζοντι τὸ ἰδίαζον τῶν φύσεων (*ACO* II, 1, 1, 93).

It was an almost impossible situation, since the Egyptians labelled the 'two natures' formula as Nestorian. I do not intend to follow the story further, since that would divert us from our theme, nevertheless, the fact that Basil's above assertion became ultimately the key phrase of the *Definition* is argued positively by modern scholarship. According to Sellers, the famous 'in two natures' of the *Chalcedonense* may well have had its origin in Basil's earlier comment on the *Formula of Reunion*:

> προσκυνοῦμεν τὸν ἕνα Κύριον ἡμῶν ᾽Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν δύο φύσεσι γνωριζόμενον (*ACO* II, I, 1, 117).

André de Halleux, who is the author of probably the best analytic article so far on the *Chalcedonense*, also reaches the same substantial conclusion concerning the source of 'la formule *basilienne*'.[382] Basil had asserted this at the home synod at Constantinople in November 448, he was forced to retract it at the Latrocinium, only to revert to this statement again in Chalcedon.[383]

If one were to compare the above with Theodoret's assertion in Ch. 21 of *De incarnatione*, the resemblance is obvious, especially concerning the union of worship: ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ δὲ φύσει τὸν ἕνα Υἱὸν προσκυνήσωμεν (col. 1456D). In fact he restated it in a somewhat similar fashion in Chalcedon, which together with the anathema upon those teaching 'two sons' and the confession of worshipping the One Son met the approval of the Eastern bishops also:

> Θεοδώρητος ὁ εὐλαβέστατος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν· ἀνάθεμα τῷ λέγοντι δύο υἱούς· ἕνα γὰρ Υἱὸν προσκυνοῦμεν, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ᾽Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Μονογενῆ (*ACO* II, 1, 1, 111).[384]

The alternative to this position was asserted previously by Bishop Logginos and Presbyter John respectively in the following manner:

> εἰδὼς μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τὴν ἐκ δύο φύσεων προσκυνεῖσθαι θεότητα τοῦ Μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ᾽Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ (*ACO* II, 1, 1, 120).
>
> μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου, τουτέστιν μετὰ τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ᾽Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ μίαν φύσιν προσκυνεῖν

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[382] André de Halleux, 'La définition christologique à Chalcédoine', in *Patrologie et œcuménisme*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensinum, 93 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), 445-480 (pp. 467-70).
[383] See Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon*, 58, note 6; 67, note 4; 122; 215-16.
[384] Concerning the issue of the worship not belonging to 'two sons' see also Emperor Marcian's letters sent to Macarius (*ACO* II, 1, 3, 131-32) and to the synod of Palestine (*ACO* II, 1, 3, 133-35).

> καὶ ταύτην θεοῦ σαρκωθέντος καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος (*ACO* II, 1, 1, 124; cf. 159 and 161).[385]

One ought to observe the manner of reference to the 'worship' within these statements in order to see how important this seemingly liturgical point became in the Christological debates during and after the Nestorian controversy. If we compare these with Basil's recantation[386] at the Latrocinium, it becomes obvious that concerning the worship belonging to the One Son of God Incarnate the issue at stake was whether this had to determine also the number of natures having to be confessed after the union. As far as the testimony of the *Chalcedonense* goes, it was decided that the μία προσκύνησις – which remained totally unchallenged through the entire period – is not bound to the μία φύσις formula, but belongs to the One Person (πρόσωπον and ὑπόστασις) of Christ, recognised 'in two natures' after the union. Based on the available evidence it may be said that Theodoret's *De incarnatione* and his later position were in substantial agreement with this ecumenical conclusion.

4.5.6 Terminology

In this last section I shall try to summarise the most important terminological issues concerning Theodoret's early Christology. I shall start with the four basic expressions concerning the notions of 'essence', 'nature' and 'person' (οὐσία, φύσις, ὑπόστασις and πρόσωπον), and continue with the terms defining the union (ἕνωσις, συνάφεια, κοινωνία, ἐνοίκησις). I shall refer also to the terms Theodoret considered as being inappropriate for the union (σύγχυσις, τροπή, κρᾶσις, μεταβολή) as well as to his image of soul and body describing the *oikonomia*.

'Essence', 'nature' and 'person'

The terms οὐσία and φύσις are practically synonyms in Theodoret's both Trinitarian and Christological vocabulary. This determines partly his attitude towards ὑπόστασις in Christology also. I quote only one relevant passage from each tract:

> μίαν τῆς Τριάδος τὴν φύσιν εἶναι πιστεύομεν, μίαν οὐσίαν ἐν τρισὶν ἰδιότησιν γνωριζομένην (*De Trinitate* Ch. 28, col. 1188B).

> οὐσία δὲ δούλου, τουτέστιν ἀνθρώπου […] πᾶσα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡ φύσις […] νενόμισται (*De incarnatione* Ch. 10, col. 1432B).

The author uses both terms in the two tracts, but nevertheless, the occurrence of φύσις is notably higher in both than that of οὐσία, which suggests the author's intention to

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[385] Note again the resemblance with the Apollinarian line of thought: 'one worship' => 'one nature'.

[386] See *ACO* II, 1, 1, 179: καὶ ἀναγνωθέντων τῶν ὑπομνημάτων Βασίλειος ἐπίσκοπος Σελευκείας Ἰσαυρίας εἶπεν· συμφέρομαι τῇ πίστει τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων […] προσκυνῶ τὴν μίαν φύσιν τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Μονογενοῦς ἐνανθρωπήσαντος καὶ σεσαρκωμένου.

provide a solid ground for his 'two natures' Christology.[387] Although the meaning of the two terms in relation to each other is virtually the same,[388] their Trinitarian function is the opposite of the Christological. On one hand they represent the common essence and nature of the Triad; on the other hand, they carry the specific attributes of the uniting Godhead and manhood respectively within the Person of Christ. Nonetheless, they are also used consistently in both contexts, since they denote the divine nature/essence both in the θεολογία and in the οἰκονομία.

Without lengthening the discussion concerning the fairly evident meaning of οὐσία and φύσις, I shall proceed to the analysis of their relationship with probably the most problematic term of the period and to some extent of Theodoret, i.e. ὑπόστασις. Concerning the term's doctrinal history I refer the reader to the excellent scholarship of J. H. Newman, G. L. Prestige and Marcel Richard.[389]

The term in itself is a correlative substantive of the verb ὑφίστημι, i.e. to stand, set or place under. As Prestige argues,

> Broadly speaking, it may be said that the purport of the term is derived in one group of usages from the middle voice of the verb ὑφίστημι, and in another from the active voice. Thus it may mean either that which underlies, or that which gives support (*God in Patristic Thought*, 163).

In classical Greek in the material sense it means 'foundation', 'sediment', 'groundwork' or even substantial nature. It also means 'substance', 'reality', something 'underlying' a specific phenomenon or essence.

In the New Testament it occurs three times in the sense of 'confidence',[390] once in the sense of 'reality' or 'assurance'[391] and only once with a meaning which the Church more or less began to assign to it.[392] Its application in theology is therefore caused largely by Hebrews 1:3 and at first it becomes the synonym of οὐσία in Epiphanius and his contemporary anti-Arian theologians. As opposed to οὐσία, in which the emphasis is laid upon the single object disclosed by means of internal analysis, the term hypostasis draws attention to the externally concrete independence, i.e. the relation to other objects. The primary theological sense of the word was also subject to continuous development.

The phrase 'hypostasis of ousia' (Hebrews 11:1) – according to Prestige – may be translated 'substantial objectivity'. The term hypostasis soon gathered the sense of 'genuineness', or 'reality', i.e. positive, 'concrete and distinct existence, first of all in the abstract and later in the particular individual' (Ibid., 174). Its use becomes more and more

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[387] The term οὐσία occurs 14 times in *De Trinitate* and 16 times in *De incarnatione*, whilst φύσις appears 36 times in *De Trinitate* and 84 times in *De incarnatione*.

[388] The limits of the present work do not allow a longer discussion of this issue. Although a total identification of the two terms should not be inferred, they are practically equivalent for our author both in his Trinitarian doctrine and in his Christology.

[389] J. H. Newman, *The Arians of the Fourth Century* (London: Longman, 1908), 432-44; G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London: SPCK, 1952), 157-78; Marcel Richard, 'L'introduction du mot *hypostase* dans la théologie de l'Incarnation', *MSR*, 2 (1945), 5-32, 243-70. See also the note of Blomfield Jackson in *NPNF* III, 36.

[390] 2 Corinthians 9:4, 11:17; Hebrews 3:14.

[391] Hebrews 11:1.

[392] Hebrews 1:3.

common by the time of the Cappadocians, meaning largely 'objective individual existence'. Hypostasis gradually gains the meaning of 'individual' in Clement, Origen, Athanasius and Basil (Ibid., pp.176-77). As our author concludes,

> Instances could be multiplied, but those which have been quoted are sufficient to show what the word hypostasis really means when it comes to be applied to the prosopa of the triad. It implies that the three presentations possess a concrete and independent objectivity, in confutation both of the Sabellian type of heresy, which regarded them all merely as different names, and of the unitarian type of heresy, which regarded the second and third of them as abstract qualities possessed by the first or impersonal influences exerted by His volition (177-78).

Before entering the Eastern debate concerning the interpretation of ὑπόστασις, I would like to draw attention to another linguistic issue, namely the Latin translation of the term. In the text of *De Trinitate* I have chosen to translate the Greek ὁμοούσιος with 'coessential' instead of 'consubstantial' partly because the Greek οὐσία would be rather the equivalent of *essentia* than of *substantia*. One of my main concerns was that whilst trying to address the issue of Theodoret's terminology, I could not ignore that etymologically the Latin *substantia* (sub-stantia) was much closer to the Greek ὑπόστασις (ὑπό–στασις) than to οὐσία. It is beyond doubt that the Western usage of the term *consubstantialis* made it the equivalent of Nicaea's *homoousios*. The translation of οὐσία with *substantia* occurred already after Nicaea in Latin theology. In his *De fide ad Gratianum* (*CSEL* 78, I, 19, 128) Ambrose uses *substantia* only in this sense:

> Er [i.e. Ambrosius] stellt jedoch klar, daß er substantia nur im Sinne von οὐσία benutzt, I, 19, 128: 'quia nos in Deo aut usian graece aut latine substantiam dicimus' (L. Abramowski, 'Συνάφεια', 89).

Further, the application and usage of *substantia* to denote οὐσία in the Early Western Church is legitimate as far as Nicaea is concerned, since the Nicene Creed did not distinguish between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις. This was probably a reaction to Arius's distinction between the three ὑποστάσεις in order to express a difference between the οὐσία of the Father and of the Son. As Arius said,

> [ὁ Υἱὸς] τὸ ζῆν καὶ τὸ εἶναι παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰληφότα καὶ τὰς δόξας, συνυποστήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Πατρός. Οὐ γὰρ ὁ Πατὴρ δοὺς αὐτῷ πάντων τὴν κληρονομίαν ἐστέρησεν ἑαυτὸν ὧν ἀγεννήτως ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ· πηγὴ γάρ ἐστι πάντων. ὥστε τρεῖς εἰσιν ὑποστάσεις (Opitz, *Urkunde* 5, 13).

Thus, the usage of *consubstantialis* to translate ὁμοούσιος – at least until the distinctions introduced by the Cappadocians – is fully Nicene and rightful. Nevertheless, in the fifth century the Western practice of translating only οὐσία with *substantia* was not unanimous, thus causing occasional problems.[393]

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[393] We find e.g. Marius Mercator translating ὑπόστασις with *substantia*. By the time the more refined Neo-Nicene terminology of the Cappadocians emerged, it was not possible to revert to a translation of ὁμοούσιος with

Socrates Scholasticus provides useful information about the debates concerning οὐσία and ὑπόστασις. According to him the two terms were allowed in the absence of more fitting ones in order to exclude Sabellianism. He also mentions that the Greek philosophers provided various definitions of οὐσία, yet they did not notice ὑπόστασις, concluding that although the ancient ones rarely mentioned this term, the more modern thinkers have frequently used it instead of οὐσία.[394]

Whilst the philosophical meaning of ὑπόστασις is more or less inconclusive as to what extent it could denote a concrete individual reality or a universal essence,[395] its ecclesiastical application is even more complicated. The term certainly enters Trinitarian doctrine first – a long time before being accepted in Christology. The arguably Origenian picture of one οὐσία and three ὑποστάσεις in the Trinity is challenged by Arius, who operated with three ὑποστάσεις in order to attack the doctrine of ὁμοουσία. This is partly why the anathema at the end of the *Nicaeanum* did not distinguish between the two terms. The same is valid for the subsequent *Creed of Sardica* (347), which states that 'the ὑπόστασις, which the heretics call οὐσία of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is one'.[396] The Roman Council held under Damasus in 371 asserts that the Three Persons are of the same *hypostasis* and *usia*.[397] The Council of Alexandria in 362 led by Athanasius and Eusebius of Vercelli decided to leave both the sense and the use of the term open, thus to enable the different traditions and schools to speak either of one *hypostasis* or of three.[398] On the other hand, as Rowan Williams observes,

> Both Arius himself and the later critics of Nicaea insist on the catholic and scriptural nature of their language, and see themselves as guardians of centrally important formulae - God is the sole *anarchos*, He begets the Son 'not in appearance but in truth', there is a triad of distinct *hupostaseis*, and so

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coessentialis. There was, of course, no reason to do that, since in the West the meanings of these terms were hardly under question compared to the intensity of the Eastern terminological disputes. Moreover, most of the Latin writers had already found another comfortable equivalent for ὑπόστασις by translating it with *subsistentia* (although not all of them were consistent in doing this). The issue arose again in the East in the terminological debates of the fifth century, until the two Greek terms (οὐσία and ὑπόστασις) were adequately distinguished by Chalcedon in the passage referring to the Person of Jesus Christ, whom the Chalcedonense confesses as being δύο φύσεις, but μία ὑπόστασις. By this time it was indeed too late for the West to address the entire issue again and possibly to replace a term (i.e. *consubstantialis*) for no urgent reason, a term, which by then had been used for more than 120 years. This revision of the Latin Trinitarian and Christological terminology thus did not take place in the West for the aforementioned reasons. Its effect can be traced through the entire history of Western theological scholarship to the extent that even in the nineteenth century the editor of Theodoret's two treatises, Angelo Mai, still continued to translate both οὐσία and ὑπόστασις with *substantia*, although from a theological viewpoint – also for Theodoret – the two terms denote different concepts. In trying to be as close to Theodoret's terminology as possible, I did not carry all the way through my translation this inherited shift of paradigm.

[394] οἱ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι σοφίαν ἐκθέμενοι τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν πολλαχῶς ὡρίσαντο· ὑποστάσεως δὲ οὐδ᾽ ἡντιναοῦν μνήμην πεποίηνται […] οἱ παλαιοὶ φιλόσοφοι τὴν λέξιν παρέλιπον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν φιλοσόφων συνεχῶς ἀντὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῇ λέξει τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἀπεχρήσαντο. See Socrates, *HE* III, 7 in William Bright, ed., *Socrates' Ecclesiastical History*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893).

[395] Socrates argues in the same place that Irenaeus the grammarian even labelled the term 'barbarian'.

[396] Theodoret, *HE*, II, 8; cf. Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 188.

[397] Newman, *The Arians*, 435.

[398] Cf. Newman, *The Arians*, 436-37.

> forth. But Arius was suspect in the eyes of the Lucianists and their neo-Arian successors because of his logical development of the traditional language in a direction that threatened the reality and integrity of God's revelation in the Son; hence the attempts in the credal statements of conservative synods in the 350s to bracket the whole Nicene discussion by refusing to allow *ousia*-terms of any kind into professions of faith.'[399]

Further, if the above picture were not already puzzling, we have to acknowledge that the use of the two terms may not be entirely clear within the oeuvre of a number of individual theologians either. Athanasius, for example, tried to apply the term both against the Arians (thus equating it with οὐσία) and to use it for the three divine Persons. On one hand, in his *Epistula ad Afros episcopos*, he wrote:

> ἡ δὲ ὑπόστασις οὐσία ἐστί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σημαινόμενον ἔχει ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν (*PG* 26, 1036B).

On the other hand, the same author in another work asserts:

> τὸ γὰρ τρίτον τὰ τίμια ζῶα ταῦτα προσφέρειν τὴν δοξολογίαν ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος λέγοντα, τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις τελείας δεικνύντα ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ λέγειν τό, Κύριος, τὴν μίαν οὐσίαν δηλοῦσιν (*In illud: Omnia mihi tradita sunt* in *PG* 25, 220A).

As it may be argued, the common Origenian heritage was developed on one hand by Arius in the sense of Trinitarian subordination, whilst on the other hand by Athanasius in the direction of coessentiality. The meaning of ὑπόστασις varied accordingly. We should emphasise again: this happened exclusively within the limits of Trinitarian doctrine. No application of the term ὑπόστασις in Christology is to be found in the Nicene and Neo-Nicene fathers.

The unique journey of the term ὑπόστασις in Christian theology, however, was far from being over. Without its gauntlet-run in Trinitarian doctrine being entirely finished, the expression received a second blow from the zealous Bishop of Laodicea. Apollinaris was the first and remained the only theologian before Cyril of Alexandria who applied the term in Christology. According to the research of M. Richard, only Apollinaris (and Theodore of Mopsuestia, as Richard thought in 1945) could be shown to have used the term ὑπόστασις in Christology before Cyril.

Apollinaris uses the term 'one hypostasis' three times in his *De fide et incarnatione*:

> ἓν πρόσωπον, μία ὑπόστασις, ὅλος ἄνθρωπος, ὅλος θεός.[400]

> ᾽Ιουδαῖοι τὸ σῶμα σταυρώσαντες τὸν θεὸν ἐσταύρωσαν, καὶ οὐδεμία διαίρεσις τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ […] ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι μία φύσις, μία ὑπόστασις, μία ἐνέργεια, ἓν πρόσωπον.[401]

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[399] Rowan Williams, *Arius, Heresy and Tradition*, 2nd edn (London: SCM Press, 2001), 234.
[400] Hans Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1904), 194.
[401] Lietzmann, *Apollinaris*, 198-99. Apart from its doctrinal anti-Semitism it is hard not to observe the obvious theopaschite 'confusion of natures' bound together with Apollinaris's μία φύσις, μία ὑπόστασις formula.

> Menschensohn aber wurde er genannt, göttliche Herrschaft aber wie Gott zeigte er, und durch das blut seiner Hypostase erlöste er die ganze Schöpfung.[402]

As M. Richard points out, the fourth occurrence of 'one hypostasis' – in Apollinaris's ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις (which Cyril held as written by Athanasius) – was contested. Nevertheless, based on the further evidence available to him, Richard corrected Lietzmann's critical text. The genuine version therefore is:

> μίαν ὑπόστασιν καὶ ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν τὴν προσκύνησιν τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς σαρκός.[403]

Hereby we have first-hand evidence concerning the provenience of 'one hypostasis' in Cyril's Christology. M. Richard attempted to prove that no other ancient writer used the term in Christology before Cyril – save for Theodore.[404] He argued that from among the two surviving versions of a Syriac fragment of Theodore (Brit. Lib. add. 12156 and 14669 respectively) the latter was the genuine one, containing 'one hypostasis' instead of 'one prosopon'.[405] As a result, this is the way the two fragments are listed in the 1974 edition of *CPG* (No. 3856).

Luise Abramowski, however, corrected this conclusion. According to the decisive evidence furnished in 1995 by the German scholar the former fragment (in BL 12156) containing 'one prosopon' is the authentic one, thus their order in *CPG* 3856 ought to be inverted.[406]

This latter correction of Prof. Abramowski bears an enormous significance upon my subsequent argument concerning the validity of 'one hypostasis' in Christology around Ephesus, since according to this very recent evidence, the only theologian who had indeed used ὑπόστασις in Christology before Cyril was Apollinaris. Apart from the correction concerning Theodore, the conclusion of M. Richard after having analysed a whole series of pseudepigraphic texts, remains fully authoritative:

> Ce florilège de texte pseudépigraphiques pourrait sans doute être allongé, mais sans grand profit. Tel quel il met déjà suffisamment en relief l'impossibilité dans laquelle se sont trouvés les théologiens du VI^e^ et VII^e^ siècle de justifier par une tradition historique l'introduction du mot hypostase dans la définition de Chalcédoine.[407]

Thus, the famous Apollinarian formula μία φύσις, μία ὑπόστασις, μία ἐνέργεια, ἓν πρόσωπον of the Incarnate Word did not have any other ecclesiastical authority behind itself apart from the Laodicean heresiarch. Although Cyril of Alexandria held the phrase

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[402] Lietzmann, *Apollinaris*, 201.
[403] M. Richard, 'L'introduction du mot *hypostase*', 7. Cf. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris*, 177.
[404] This latter conclusion was corrected by Luise Abramowski. See below.
[405] M. Richard, 'L'introduction du mot *hypostase*', 21-29.
[406] L. Abramowski, 'Über die Fragmente des Theodor von Mopsuestia in Brit. Libr. add 12.516 und das doppelt überlieferte christologische Fragment', *Oriens Christianus*, 79 (1995), 1-8. The *Supplement* of *CPG* published in 1998 contains this correction under No. 3856.
[407] M. Richard, 'L'introduction du mot *hypostase*', 32.

as coming from his venerated master Athanasius, whom he sought to follow in every theological respect, the term indeed was alien to orthodox Christology in the entire fourth century.[408]

We have arrived at Theodoret and the issue of ὑπόστασις within the Christological debates of his time. What we know only since 1995 (thanks to Prof. Abramowski) – and Cyril did not know at the time – Theodoret knew at the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy already: the term μία ὑπόστασις as referring to the Incarnation and specifically denoting the union 'according to ὑπόστασις' in Christ, as it appears in Cyril's *Anathemas*, was most emphatically *not* used by any of the orthodox fathers, who reserved this term exclusively for the ἴδια of the divine Persons.[409] One may even be entitled to reformulate one of the basic scholarly assumptions concerning the authoritativeness of *hypostatic union* before 431. It was not part of the tradition, nonetheless, Cyril's recurrent emphatic references to his pseudo-Athanasian sources almost 'created a history', as it were, for this phrase – and perhaps not only in the minds of some theologians living in the fifth century. This largely unchallenged assumption filtered itself through the centuries into the modern scholarship, becoming part of our doctrinal subconscious. That is why the findings of M. Richard and L. Abramowski are so important. I cannot and do not intend to rewrite this chapter of the history of doctrine, nonetheless, I find it necessary to make a clear distinction here between what can be considered as genuine *tradition* and subsequent general *assumption*.

It is this perspective from which I intend to assess the reaction of Theodoret, who, upon encountering the term ὑπόστασις in Cyril's anathemas, writes both in his reply and in his *Letter to the Eastern monks*:

> In obedience to the divine teaching of the apostles we confess one Christ; and through the union [διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν], we name the same One both God and man. But we are wholly ignorant [παντάπασιν ἀγνοοῦμεν] of the union according to hypostasis as being strange and alien [ὡς ξένην καὶ ἀλλόφυλον] to the divine Scriptures and to the Fathers who have interpreted them (*ACO* I, 1, 6, 114).[410]
>
> ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τρίτῳ κεφαλαίῳ […] τὴν καθ᾽ ὑπόστασιν ἕνωσιν εἰσάγει καὶ σύνοδον καθ᾽ ἕνωσιν φυσικήν, κρᾶσίν τινα καὶ σύγχυσιν

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[408] In Latin theology the term 'one nature' was expressly banned e.g. by the 13th Anathema of the first council of Toledo in the year 400: 'si quis dixerit vel crediderit, deitatis et carnis unam esse in Christo naturam, anathema sit' (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 212).

[409] Although the Trinitarian and Christological language of some fathers in the fourth century – like that of Athanasius and Basil – cannot be kept neatly apart, nonetheless, the term ὑπόστασις as referring to the *union* of Godhead and manhood in Christ, and especially the key-phrases: 'hypostatic union' or 'the union according to hypostasis' were entirely absent from their vocabulary.

[410] The interaction between the Trinitarian and Christological vocabulary of the earlier fathers cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, the term ὑπόστασις was primarily used in θεολογία and seldom referring to the οἰκονομία. Although the full absence of ὑπόστασις from the Christological terminology of the earlier theologians may not be inferred, nevertheless, most emphatically, the phrase 'union according to hypostasis' was beyond doubt absent from their writings. It is peculiarly this usage which Theodoret targets in his counter-statement the more so since Cyril made it the equivalent of his 'union according to nature'. See below.

> διὰ τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων γεγενῆσθαι διδάσκων τῆς τε θείας φύσεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ δούλου μορφῆς. Τοῦτο τῆς αἱρετικῆς Ἀπολλιναρίου καινοτομίας ἐστὶ κύημα (*SC* 429, 100).

As I have repeatedly stated, Cyril's orthodoxy – as well as the *Chalcedonian* validity of *hypostatic union* – is not in question within the present thesis, since we are concerned with the interpretation of Theodoret. Nevertheless, two important observations have to be made. First, the only occasion where Theodoret could be claimed to admit two ὑποστάσεις in Christ in his entire theological career is his answer to the third Cyrilline anathema.[411] He never challenges the expression again. Secondly, in the context of scholarly evidence, he was justified in saying that the term was alien to the fathers' vocabulary of the οἰκονομία, being prima facie 'the fetus of Apollinaris's heretic innovation'. Thus, without denying the theological virtue of Cyril's positive application of the term and his subsequent contribution by which it became unanimously accepted two decades later, one ought to see that the moment and the way it re-entered the theology of the Incarnation[412] after more than four decades of absence,[413] the term ὑπόστασις was more than suspicious – and not merely for the Antiochene theologians. It was an innovation, although it proved to be a positive one.

Theodoret's reaction is not motivated by ignorance but rather by a commonly general concern about any compromised term in any period of the history of doctrine. To give only one example: the expression 'man-bearer' connected inseparably with 'God-bearer' could have become an orthodox statement as a legitimate confession of the true humanity and divinity of Christ[414] – if it had not been bound to the ill-fated name of Nestorius. Similarly, the phrase ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν as referring to Christ – despite the indisputable virtue conferred later on it by Cyril – cannot indeed be claimed to have had any sort of authority but rather a bad reputation in the context of the *oikonomia* at the time of the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy. Consequently, Theodoret could not be expected to embrace a phrase used by the most ferocious opponent of his two teachers (Diodore and Theodore) – an opponent condemned by the first canon of Constantinople 381 (which was presided over for a while by Diodore himself) and regarded by the whole

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[411] I think Marcel Richard has given the adequate explanation concerning the lack of the term ὑπόστασις from Theodoret's Christological vocabulary: 'Nous avons déjà signalé la fin de non-recevoir opposée par Théodoret à l'expression union καθ' ὑπόστασιν. Il nous reste à préciser et expliquer son attitude à l'égard des autres thèses de saint Cyrille: On a voulu conclure de sa critique du III[e] anathématisme qu'il confessait deux hypostases du Christ. Ce n'est exact que tout à fait matériellement. En réalité le mot ὑπόστασις ne faisait pas partie de son lexique christologique. Mais il a compris que par "hypostase" Cyrille entendait ce que lui-même appelait "nature" et n'a pas jugé utile de le chicaner sur ce point. Il s'est contenté, quand il parlait, après lui, d'hypostases, d'ajouter pour éviter toute équivoque εἴτ' οὖν φύσεις, ce qu'il faut traduire "c'est-à-dire les natures".' See M. Richard, 'L'introduction du mot *hypostase*', 253. Cf. *ACO* I, 1, 6, 117 = *PG* 76, 404B. In the light of L. Abramowski's correction, one may add that ὑπόστασις was not part of anyone else's Christological vocabulary in 430 either – save for Cyril of Alexandria.

[412] I.e. being included in a solemn anathema to be subscribed by Nestorius as proof of his orthodoxy.

[413] Apollinaris died in 392, being in open war with the orthodox side since 376.

[414] Strictly speaking, the juxtaposition would logically describe Christ as very God and very man. Mary is 'God-bearer' since the Word was born into human life through her, yet also 'man-bearer' since Who is born of her is very man also. The doctrinally motivated refusal of the latter compromised term paradoxically denies Mary a quality, which is by nature due to every human mother.

church as having died in his heresy – and accept it as the very criterion of Christological orthodoxy. It necessarily took some years of theological evolution – including Cyril's necessary subsequent clarifications – until the content of the expression could be regarded and accepted as orthodox. The Bishop of Cyrus cannot be reproached justifiably for not having made it his key term of Christological union, save for the case if one were to argue from the perspective of the 'assumption', which I have distinguished above from the 'tradition'. Evidently, such a charge is anachronistic. Moreover, apart from Theodoret's remarkable reluctance to attack the Cyrilline formula ever again after 431 it ought to be observed that one of the very obstacles in the way of his acceptance was Cyril's rather unfortunate and often ambiguous equation between ὑπόστασις and φύσις, subsequently corrected by Chalcedon.[415]

Thus, how did Theodoret interpret ὑπόστασις? In *De incarnatione* (apart from the recurrent quotation of Hebrews 1:3) we have only one occurrence of the term and even that is taken in a Trinitarian sense:

> This is a powerful refutation showing immediately the very impiety of Arius and Eunomius and it shows also the blasphemy of Sabellius, Marcellus and Photeinos, who deny the three hypostases [οἱ τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ἀρνούμενοι] and confuse the attributes of the Godhead [καὶ τὰς τῆς θεότητος συγχέοντες ἰδιότητας]. Because according to the hypostasis the one being in the form of God [i.e. the Word] is different from the other [i.e. God the Father] in whose form [He] is [ἕτερος γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ὁ ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, καὶ ἕτερος ἐκεῖνος οὗ ἐν μορφῇ ὑπάρχει]. Again, the one [i.e. the Word] who thought it no robbery to be equal with God is different from the other [i.e. God the Father] with whom He is equal; nevertheless, He did not snatch the equality for Himself (col. 1429D-1432A).

The above text shows the author's use of hypostasis as being a summary or bearer of the ἰδιότης of a Trinitarian Person, as we have seen it in *De Trinitate*. Theodoret does not seem to find a place for this term in his pre-Ephesian Christology, although after Chalcedon he manifests a tendency to identify it with πρόσωπον.[416] Before drawing the final conclusions we have to assess another important occurrence and explanation of the term ὑπόστασις in the first dialogue of the *Eranistes*.[417] After the agreed acceptance of the one οὐσία of the Trinity, and the interpolated question of Orthodoxos, i.e. whether one has to reckon hypostasis to signify anything else than οὐσία, or to take it as another name of οὐσία, the 'beggar' asks the following:

> Eranistes: ἔχει τινὰ διαφορὰν ἡ οὐσία πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν;
> Orthodoxos: κατὰ μὲν τὴν θύραθεν σοφίαν οὐκ ἔχει. ἥ τε γὰρ οὐσία

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[415] I do not intend to enter the discussion whether Cyril might have used ὑπόστασις still in its old Nicene sense (as sometimes Athanasius did), whilst Theodoret interpreted it in the Neo-Nicene manner of the Cappadocians. Instead I would apply Newman's valid conclusion as vindicating both Cyril and Theodoret concerning their attitude towards the term: 'The outcome of this investigation is this: – that we need not by an officious piety arbitrarily force the language of separate Fathers into a sense which it cannot bear; nor by an unjust and narrow criticism accuse them of error; nor impose upon an early age a distinction of terms belonging to a later' (*The Arians*, 444).

[416] See Marcel Richard, 'La lettre de Théodoret à Jean d'Égées', *SPT*, 2 (1941-42), 415-23.

[417] The occurrences in the *Expositio* will be analysed in connection with πρόσωπον. See below.

> τὸ ὂν σημαίνει, καὶ τὸ ὑφεστὸς ἡ ὑπόστασις. Κατὰ δὲ γε τὴν τῶν πατέρων διδασκαλίαν, ἣν ἔχει διαφορὰν τὸ κοινὸν πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον, ἢ τὸ γένος πρὸς τὸ εἶδος ἢ τὸ ἄτομον, ταύτην ἡ οὐσία πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει (*Eranistes*, 64).[418]

The above answer of Orthodoxos shows on one hand Theodoret's familiarity with philosophical literature, i.e. with 'the wisdom outside' Christendom. His judgement is generally consonant with the other contemporary church historian, Socrates[419]: for the philosophers οὐσία signifies τὸ ὄν, i.e. that which 'is' or 'exists', whilst ὑπόστασις represents τὸ ὑφεστός, i.e. that which 'gives support' or 'subsists'.[420] On the other hand, the Bishop of Cyrus shows himself aware of the Neo-Nicene refinements of the Cappadocians, since he writes that according to the teaching of the fathers the difference between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις is the same as between τὸ κοινόν (that which is common) and τὸ ἴδιον (that which is particular) or τὸ γένος (the race, genus) as opposed to τὸ εἶδος (that which is seen, the species) and τὸ ἄτομον (the indivisible, the individual).[421] This could explain to some extent his reluctance to accept ὑπόστασις in Christology, since as it appears in Cyril, the term may be equated with φύσις,[422] yet this latter expression is the synonym of οὐσία for Theodoret (as we have seen above), which in its turn is different from ὑπόστασις[423] 'according to the teaching of the fathers'. Mutatis mutandis, in the understanding of our author, ὑπόστασις – if accepted – can be introduced in Christology only as a synonym for πρόσωπον but not for φύσις, which is what he finds at first sight in Cyril's anathemas. Finally, in evaluating Theodoret's general terminology including his use of ὑπόστασις, we have to consider also that the only valid theological standard of the 430s (and indeed the terminological milestone between Ephesus and Chalcedon), i.e. the *Formula of Reunion*, does not contain the term. It states the double ὁμοουσία of Christ (i.e. with God the Father and with us), it affirms the unmingled union of two φύσεις, confesses the one πρόσωπον, sanctions the use of ναός in the same manner Theodoret did in *De incarnatione*, yet it does not even mention ὑπόστασις. The first ecumenically accepted Christological use of the term is validated by the *Chalcedonense* in 451, in an environment which leaves little doubt about the fact

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[418] Cf. with the explanation of Socrates Scholasticus mentioned above.

[419] I could not establish whether Theodoret was dependent on Socrates or whether both of them were using a common source.

[420] Following Prestige's analysis Theodoret seems to interpret ὑπόστασις here in the sense of 'giving support' – at least according to the active form of τὸ ὑφεστός (Act. Part. Perf. Neut. Nom. Sg).

[421] This is how the Trinitarian terms exercise their influence upon Theodoret's Christological thinking: all that was 'one' in the Trinity (οὐσία and φύσις) becomes 'two' in Christ, whereas the 'three' in the Trinity become 'one' in Christology (three πρόσωπα => one πρόσωπον). This also means that whilst in the Trinity the carrier of the specific ἰδιώματα of the divine Persons was the ὑπόστασις, here in Christology, the bearers of the ἰδιώματα of the two uniting divine and human elements will necessarily be the φύσεις and οὐσίαι.

[422] I am aware of Cyril's use of the term φύσις both in the sense of 'nature' and 'person' as well as of its explanation. Nevertheless, apart from the fact that this does not constitute the subject of my investigation, I intend to explain why Theodoret might have been puzzled by this ambivalent usage.

[423] Cf. with *Expositio*: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀρκεῖ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ μὴ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτὴν δηλοῦν τὸ ἀγέννητον καὶ γεννητὸν καὶ ἐκπορευτόν, ἀφοριστικὰ δὲ τῶν ὑποστάσεων εἶναι, πρὸς τῷ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ὑπάρξεως διασημαίνειν (*PG* 6, 1212B).

that in reference to the Incarnation it should be taken as a synonym for πρόσωπον rather than for οὐσία or φύσις:[424]

> ἐν δύο φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως γνωριζόμενον […] καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης (*Denz.* 302; cf. Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 166-67).

We have arrived at the fourth term, πρόσωπον, which is used by our author to describe the union in Christ and denote the One Person. Prestige shows that πρόσωπον originally meant simply 'face', but adds that it 'is sometimes expressly opposed to the sense of "mask", as when Clement (*Paed*. 3. 2, II. 2) inveighs against those women who by painting their countenances made their prosopa into prosopeia.'[425] The term was introduced both into the doctrine on the Trinity and into the theology of the Incarnation with the meaning of 'person' although not in a fully equivalent sense of our present understanding of the English word. After the Sabellian challenge it becomes sharply contrasted with προσωπεῖον, thus to denote that the πρόσωπα are not merely the outward countenances of the one and the same Υἱοπατήρ, who in the manner of a Greek actor changes his masks on the scene. Its accepted presence in Christology precedes by long decades – if not centuries – the introduction of ὑπόστασις and as Prestige argues, 'there does not seem to be any evidence whatever for the view that the term prosopon was ever discredited in orthodox circles at any period of theological development' (Ibid., 162).

Regarding the interaction between Theodoret's Trinitarian and Christological vocabulary, Montalverne concludes that Theodoret's Christological use of the term πρόσωπον did not derive from his Trinitarian doctrine, but rather from his Antiochene Christological heritage.[426] Mandac disproves this conclusion, showing that Theodoret uses the term πρόσωπον in his *Curatio* to denote the divine Persons when commenting on God's utterance in Genesis 1: 26-27. Moreover, he repeats the distinction τῶν προσώπων as referring to the Trinity in the same work.[427] To this one might add that the term occurs three times in *De Trinitate* in the sense of 'person'. On two occasions it distinguishes the Son from the Father and once it is used to show the divinity of the Holy Spirit.[428] Finally,

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[424] I do not intend to suggest that ὑπόστασις is *merely* a synonym for πρόσωπον in the *Chalcedonense*. Its function is also to evince Cyril's emphasis and his positive contribution to the strengthening of the concept of union in Christ. What I wanted to emphasise was that Chalcedon accepted Cyril's positive contribution (i.e. the union according to hypostasis) in a manner which excluded the (by then) ambiguous formula 'union according to nature'. This was most effectively achieved by ranking ὑπόστασις with πρόσωπον and not with φύσις or with οὐσία. That is also why the Monophysites could never accept Chalcedon, since it implicitly rejected the famous 'one incarnate nature of God the Word' to the letter of which the Eutychian party was clinging.

[425] Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 157.

[426] 'Recte suspicari potest usum christologicum vocis prosopon apud Theodoretum minime a theologia trinitaria desumptum esse, sed potius ad placita scholae antiochenae in eius christologia simpliciter occurrere ob paradigma hominis, qui et ipse unum prosopon est ex duabus videlicet substantiis consistens.' See P. Joseph Montalverne, *Theodoreti Cyrensis doctrina antiquior de verbo 'inhumanato' (a circiter 423-435)*, Studia Antoniana, 1 (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1948), 78.

[427] See *SC* 57, 156: ἵνα δείξῃ τὸ τῶν προσώπων διάφορον. Cf. *SC* 57, 386.

[428] See *De Trinitate* Ch. 12, col. 1164D; Ch. 16, col. 1173A and Ch. 22, col. 1180C.

it comes up again in *Expositio rectae fidei*,[429] bound also with the term ὑπόστασις, as is customary to Theodoret's Trinitarian language:

> ὥστε τὸ ἀγέννητον καὶ τὸ γεννητὸν καὶ τὸ ἐκπορευτὸν οὐκ οὐσίας δηλωτικά, σημαντικὰ δὲ τῶν ὑποστάσεών ἐστιν· ἱκανὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν διακρίνειν τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τὴν Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἰδιαζόντως δεικνύειν ὑπόστασιν. Καθάπερ […] τοῦ Πνεύματος πρόσωπον παιδευόμεθα. (*PG* 6, 1212AB).

The Neo-Nicene distinction of οὐσία and ὑπόστασις is present in the theological thinking of the young Theodoret. Further, as he argues, one may distinguish the three πρόσωπα based on the three divine names. This leads Mandac to conclude:

> De tous ces textes, croyons-nous, une conclusion s'impose: Théodoret employait le vocable πρόσωπον pour désigner ce que nous appellons les trois Personnes divines. Il est bien évident que l'évêque de Cyr n'a pas inventé cette signification trinitaire de πρόσωπον, mais il l'a reprise à ses devanciers. ('L' union christologique', 73).

Concerning the Christological meaning of πρόσωπον for Theodoret there is one passage commonly cited from his *Commentary on Ezekiel* based on which it has been claimed that for him the term retained its notion of 'countenance'. Speaking of the Saviour's fleshly ascension from the Mount of Olives, Theodoret writes:

> εἰκότως τοίνυν καὶ τηνικαῦτα ἐν ἀνθρωπείῳ φανεὶς σχήματι, καὶ τὰς δύο φύσεις ἑνὶ δείξας προσώπῳ (*PG* 81, 901CD).

The suggestion that φανεὶς and δείξας might represent a remnant of the meaning concerning the outward appearance as 'shown' or 'manifested' by Christ rather than 'proving' to be the πρόσωπον Himself can be answered by other passages from Theodoret's commentaries. In the same *Commentary on Ezekiel* we read:

> ἐγὼ Κύριος, φησί, λελάληκα. ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ προσώπου δήλωσις τὴν ἀλήθειαν δεῖξαι (*PG* 81, 868BC).

If δεῖξαι were to be taken as mere 'showing' or 'displaying' rather than 'making manifest' in the sense of 'confirming', then the whole rationale above would lose its emphasis upon ἡ τοῦ προσώπου δήλωσις τὴν ἀλήθειαν. To this we might add the frequent references to 'the Master Christ' on account of whom or referring to the Person of whom [ἐκ προσώπου αὐτοῦ] Isaiah, Ezekiel, David and others were speaking [βοᾷ] in the same manner as they spoke in the Person [ἐκ προσώπου] or on account of God the Father.[430] Further, commenting Isaiah 45:14 Theodoret writes:

> ὁράτωσαν Ἰουδαῖοι δυάδα προσώπων κηρυττομένην ἐν ἑνί· ἔστι γὰρ ἐν σοὶ θεὸς καὶ σὺ θεὸς καὶ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς πλὴν σοῦ. ἐλέγχει δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν Ἀρείου καὶ Εὐνομίου μανίαν· εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν

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[429] τὰ τριὰ συνημμένως ἡμῖν συνεισάγει πρόσωπα (*PG* 6, 1216B); cf. col. 1216C, 1217B.

[430] See *PG* 81, 1161AB, cf. *PG* 81,1248B (*on Ezekiel*). Cf. ταῦτα ἐκ προσώπου εἴρηται τοῦ Δεσπότου Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστι σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ κατὰ σάρκα (*Commentary on Isaiah* in *SC* 315, 72, cf. *SC* 315, 76 etc).

> αὐτοῦ, ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ θεὸς πῶς ἂν εἴη θεός; […] [John 14:10, 10:30] […] ἤλεγξε τοίνυν ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος καὶ Ἰουδαίους εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον τὴν θεότητα περιγράφοντας καὶ Ἄρειον καὶ Εὐνόμιον ἑτέραν φύσιν θεότητος εἰσαγαγεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντας (*SC* 315, 32).

Thus, if the πρόσωπον of ὁ Κύριος to whom the assertions in John's gospel are attributed is only an outward countenance, the entire argument against the Jews who 'limit the divinity to a single πρόσωπον' (i.e. of JHWH) is invalidated. The identification of the second πρόσωπον of the Trinity with the one of Christ is evident in many passages of Theodoret's commentaries. One last quotation from his *Commentary* on Isaiah 45:23 is noteworthy, especially because the author uses a version of the manuscript of Romans 14:10, which contains Χριστοῦ instead of θεοῦ. Theodoret asserts here that what Isaiah had said about the πρόσωπον of the Father Paul attributed to the πρόσωπον of the Son, who is 'Christ' in the version used by Theodoret (consequently, equated with the πρόσωπον of the Son):

> ἃ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ προφήτης εἴρηκε, ταῦτα ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος τῷ τοῦ Υἱοῦ προσώπῳ προσήρμοσεν, λέγει δὲ οὕτως· πάντες παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ (*SC* 315, 40; cf. ibid., note 1).

Finally, both the verb δείκνυμι and φαίνω in the quoted passage from the *Commentary on Ezekiel* appear in *Expositio* with a clear meaning of 'being manifested' or 'proven' rather than 'appearing' as referring to the πρόσωπα:

> [Ephesians 3:14-17] ἰδοῦ γὰρ πάλιν ἐνοικήσεως θείας μνημονεύων ὁ Παῦλος, καὶ Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱόν, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον συμπεριλαμβάνων δείκνυται· καὶ πανταχοῦ δὲ τῆς διδασκαλίας συντάττων τὰ τρία φαίνεται πρόσωπα (*PG* 6, 1216).

I think that a further lengthening of the evidence is superfluous. Theodoret's concept of πρόσωπον as it appears both in his doctrinal treatises and in his commentaries is indeed far from being a mere προσωπεῖον and thus is a valid equivalent of the Latin *persona*. There is no substantial evidence in his writings to prove the contrary. That is why it is a fitting term for the Christological union in *De incarnatione*, where the One Son is not merely 'shown up' but 'manifested':

> It can be seen more clearly from the Epistle to the Hebrews, that the divine nature and the human are different one from another according to their operations [ταῖς ἐνεργείαις], but are united [συνημμένας] in the person [τῷ προσώπῳ] and indicate the one Son [καὶ τὸν ἕνα ὑποδεικνύσας Υἱόν] (Ch. 21, col. 1456A).[431]

It is therefore this one πρόσωπον of the One Son, i.e. of Christ in whom the natures are united without confusion:

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[431] Cf. with the beginning of Ch. 22: [Paul] τάς τε τῶν φύσεων ἰδιότητας, καὶ τοῦ προσώπου κηρύττει τὴν ἕνωσιν (col. 1460A).

> οὐδὲ γὰρ ἕτερον ἡμῖν ἐπιδείκνυσι πρόσωπον, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν Μονογενῆ τὴν ἡμετέραν περικείμενον φύσιν (*SC* 111, 198).

The author repeatedly refuses the charge of teaching two πρόσωπα (*PG* 75, 1472C), yet he maintains the two φύσεις within the one πρόσωπον.[432] I shall now proceed to the analysis of the terms describing this 'prosopic' union in Christ.

Terms describing the union

In the present section we take a closer look at the terms describing the Christological union in both tracts. In order to make the overall assessment easier, I begin with a little statistic.

The most frequent technical term for 'assuming' is [συν][ανα]λαμβάνω and its derivatives (occurring for more than 50 times throughout both tracts). The other is συνάπτω. Both verbs represent an action always ascribed to the Word. The expressions συνάφεια, συνῆψε, συνῆφθαι, συνάψας occur 8 times in *De incarnatione*. The term is mostly bound with ἕνωσις (col. 1457A, 1469D, 1473A, 1473B).[433] Its verbal forms (e.g. συνάψας) always refer to ὁ θεὸς Λόγος, who 'conjoins' the human nature (or the temple) with Himself (col. 1460D, col. 1468C) as opposed to a transmutation (μεταβαλών) of the divine nature into human (col. 1425D). On one occasion the term συναφθεῖσαν refers to the human soul of Christ rejoined with His flesh after resurrection (col. 1453A) and it is also used (together with ἡνῶσθαι, οἰκεῖν and ἐνεργεῖν) to describe the human soul's relationship with the body (col. 1473A). This term shall be discussed together with ἕνωσις.

Another frequent occurrence is οἰκονομία (4 times in *De Trinitate*, 16 times in *De incarnatione*), which is often the replacement for ἐνανθρώπησις (occurring once in *De Trinitate* and 3 times in *De incarnatione*). As mentioned above in Ch. 3, it is becoming a technical term to denote something we would call Christology and soteriology, but does not need further discussion. The emphasis upon Christ being 'One' [εἷς] (i.e. the One Son, One Christ, one πρόσωπον) appears 10 times in *De incarnatione* either as the author's own statement or by biblical quotations introduced by explanatory passages concerning the 'oneness' or the 'union'.[434]

It is noteworthy that one of Theodore's favourite expressions, i.e. συμπλοκή, does not appear at all in either tract – in fact, it never had a Christological function in Theodoret's whole career.

The verb σύνειμι (and its Part. Pass. συνημμένος) appears 5 times in *De Trinitate* describing the Son being together with the Father, and only 3 times in *De incarnatione* in a Christological sense: once preceded by ἕνωσις (col. 1472B), once bound with ἀχωρίστως (col. 1469B) and once concerning the union in the πρόσωπον quoted above

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[432] This is of course in contrast with Apollinaris, who in ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις writes: οὐ δύο πρόσωπα οὐδὲ δύο φύσεις (Lietzmann, *Apollinaris*, 179).

[433] In the title of Ch. 30 συνάφεια is by itself, yet in the preceding line (at the end of Ch. 29) it is attached to ἕνωσις (col. 1469D).

[434] See col. 1436CD (three times), 1456A, 1456D, 1460A, 1460B (twice), 1472A, 1472D.

(col. 1456A). A detailed discussion of the term does not seem to be necessary – due to its notably few occurrences.

The terms κοινόν and κοινωνία occur 10 times in *De Trinitate*, but never in a Christological sense; similarly, they appear 12 times in *De incarnatione* but only once in the sense of Christological union and even then in an enumeration preceded by ἕνωσις and συνάφεια (col. 1473B). Thus, κοινωνία does not qualify to be a major technical term either.

The most frequently used term is ἕνωσις together with its derivatives (ἡνῶσθαι etc.), which is the author's key term for Christological union. It occurs 15 times in *De incarnatione*: 8 times by itself[435] and 8 times bound with one of the other expressions, often preceding them.[436] I shall analyse it together with συνάφεια.

The term ἐνοίκησις appears 3 times in *De Trinitate*, but not in a Christological sense,[437] yet it describes the union 8 times in *De incarnatione*: 4 times bound with ἕνωσις,[438] and 4 times on its own.[439] This expression [ἐνοίκησις] deserves some attention, not particularly because of the number of its occurrences, but rather because of its interpolation in the 11th Cyrilline anathema. The expression became suspicious for Cyril as he sensed in it a danger of Adoptionism from the side of Nestorius. The term itself was rather widely used not only to describe the 'indwelling' of the Holy Spirit in believers (see 1 Corinthians 3:16-17) but referring to Christ as well. Interestingly, this latter practice was not discredited even after the challenge of Paul of Samosata. I have selected three examples for illustration:

Amphilochius of Iconium on the statement 'the Father is greater than I' wrote:

> διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ πῇ μὲν ἀνηγμένους, πῇ δὲ ταπεινοὺς φθέγγομαι λόγους, ἵνα διὰ μὲν τῶν ὑψηλῶν τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος Λόγου δείξω τὴν εὐγένειαν, διὰ δὲ τῶν ταπεινῶν τῆς ταπεινῆς σαρκὸς γνωρίσω τὴν ἀσθένειαν (*Fragment* 2).[440]

Athanasius uses the term on several occasions in his *De incarnatione Verbi*:

> αὐτὸς γὰρ δυνατὸς ὢν καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων, ἐν τῇ παρθένῳ κατασκευάζει ἑαυτῷ ναὸν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἰδιοποιεῖται τοῦτο ὥσπερ ὄργανον, ἐν αὐτῷ γνωριζόμενος καὶ ἐνοικῶν.[441]

Finally, Chrysostom on the story of *Transfiguration* (Matthew 17:2) writes:

> παρήνοιξε, φησίν, ὀλίγον τῆς θεότητος, ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἐνοικοῦντα θεόν (*PG* 52, 404D).

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[435] Col. 1456A (title of Ch. 21), 1456B, 1460A, 1469C, 1472B, 1472C (title of Ch. 31), 1473B, 1477A.
[436] Col. 1433A, 1457A, 1450D, 1469D, 1472B, 1473A (union of soul and body), 1473B.
[437] It appears twice in connection with 1 Corinthians 3:16-17 (col. 1181C).
[438] Col. 1433A, 1457A: followed by συνῆψε and ἕνωσις, col. 1468D and 1473A.
[439] It is once ascribed to Apollinaris in col. 1444A, whilst on its own in col. 1452AB and col. 1457D.
[440] C. Datema, ed., *Amphilochii Iconiensis Opera* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), 228.
[441] Athanasius, *Contra Gentes and De incarnatione*, ed. and trans. by Robert W. Thomson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 152; cf. Ch. 9 (154), Ch. 20 (184), Ch. 26 (198). See also *Orationes tres contra Arianos* (*PG* 26, 265C).

For Theodoret the term ἐνοικήσις describes the 'indwelling' of the Word within the assumed temple. It functions normally as a qualifying term for ἕνωσις – with which it is often coupled – and is used in order to uphold a union together with maintaining the natures' properties. It plays a role occasionally in the clarifying statements of the author concerning the manner of attribution as we have seen. Based on its use within *De incarnatione*, any idea of Adoptionism or 'two sons' is excluded. The author employs the term in much the same manner as it had been used by earlier fathers.

In order to avoid repetitions and to represent the thought of the author more faithfully, I shall discuss the two crucial terms (i.e. ἕνωσις and συνάφεια) together. Whilst ἕνωσις is generally accepted as being the crucial term of Christological union for Theodoret,[442] συνάφεια was widely regarded with suspicion since the time of the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy.

Cyril's express refusal of the term in his third anathema[443] shows that he cannot interpret it otherwise than of a loose connection 'according to rank' [κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν] or perhaps honour between two separate hypostases, thus excluding any real union. The best and most exhaustive analysis of the term was furnished by Luise Abramowski in her excellent study 'Συνάφεια und ἀσύγχυτος ἕνωσις als Bezeichnung für trinitarische und christologische Einheit'. Starting from the earliest philosophical foundations and continuing with an impressive list of patristic arguments the author shows conclusively how συνάφεια (συναφή) was a valid synonym for ἀσύγχυτος ἕνωσις not only in Christology but in the Trinitarian doctrine also from the time of Tertullian through Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Augustine, Novatian and others.[444] In lack of space I cannot expose the full rationale of this quite thoroughgoing study.[445]

Cyril's reluctance to accept 'unmingled union' as the valid meaning of συνάφεια[446] is to a large extent answered by his eighth anathema, where he expresses his general concern about the preposition σύν. It almost appears that any word containing this particle was suspicious for him when referred to the Person of Christ: τὸ γὰρ "σὺν" ἀεὶ προστιθέμενον τοῦτο νοεῖν ἀναγκάζει.[447] As Cyril cannot be proven to have been

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[442] 'Les termes les plus utilisés par notre auteur pour désigner la relation du Verbe et de la nature humaine sont ἑνόω et le substantif ἕνωσις.' See Mandac, 'L' union christologique', 85-86.

[443] See Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 313; cf. *ACO* I, 1, 6, 116.

[444] Tertullian applies 'coniungere' and 'cohaerere' as equivalents for συνάπτειν referring both to the Trinitarian and to the Christological union. He seems to be the earliest Christian theologian by whom συνάπτω is a synonym for ἑνόω. See Abramowski, 'Συνάφεια', 80-81. For Ambrose see Ibid., 89-93; for Augustine and Novatian see Ibid., 95-98.

[445] 'Auch in der Trinitätslehre dient συνάπτω etc. zur Bezeichnung von Einheit, συνάπτω und ἑνόω werden synonym gebraucht.' Abramowski, 'Συνάφεια', 71. The conclusions of this study necessarily correct the assumptions concerning the term συνάφεια in the article of P. T. R. Gray, 'Theodoret on the *One Hypostasis*' (written in 1975, i.e. six years before Abramowski's study) as well as of Kevin McNamara, 'Theodoret of Cyrus and the Unity of Person in Christ' (written in 1955). Significantly, however, Clayton did not seem to be acquainted with this study either (he does not list it in his bibliography), although it was published four years before the submission of his thesis (1985).

[446] In order to assess the validity of this claim, one ought to read through the study of Prof. Abramowski, which disperses quite a few false assumptions.

[447] Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 314; *ACO* I, 1, 6, 131. Cf. with his following remark in *Epistola dogmatica*: ἵνα μὴ τιμῆς φαντασία παρεισκρίνηται διὰ τοῦ λέγειν τὸ σύν· (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 312).

familiar with the philosophical background of συνάφεια often used by the Antiochenes,[448] he seems to manifest a preconceived negative judgement about any term beginning with σύν, since this preposition in his mind cannot introduce or describe anything which is truly one, but only something composite, the elements of which are merely in a quite vague conjunction with each other. According to the evidence provided by L. Abramowski, this was not the case at all with συνάφεια in the sense in which the earlier fathers and indeed Theodoret had used it, nevertheless, their usage of the term was based on a philosophical tradition virtually unknown to the Bishop of Alexandria. As Abramowski concludes,

> Wenn Kyrill der συνάφεια die σύνοδος der zwei Hypostasen entgegensetze, so sei das gar nichts anderes als die συνάφεια, was jedoch in höchstem Grade anfechtbar sei, sei die ἕνωσις φυσική, denn das Adjektiv bringe ein Element des Unbewußten, biologisch Zwangshaften hinein, welches vom Logos niemals gesagt werden dürfe.[449]

The above means that for our present investigation concerning Theodoret's use of συνάφεια as describing a union without confusion Cyril's authority cannot be held as decisive. His third anathema cast a shadow of doubt upon a legitimate term used for more than two centuries already with a meaning he would not grant it.[450] Therefore, without spending more time on this unfortunate terminological bias, I shall proceed to present a few patristic examples as well as Theodoret's understanding of συνάφεια.

Basil, who uses the term quite frequently both in his Trinitarian doctrine and in Christology, writes: τάχα τὴν σάρκα λέγει τὴν θεοφόρον, ἁγιασθεῖσαν διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν συναφείας (*Homily on* Psalm 46:5 (LXX: 45:5) *PG* 29, 424B). The use of συνάφεια in order to express the unmingled union between Father and Son as well as between the humanity and divinity of Christ is commonplace enough in Gregory of Nyssa's *Contra Eunomium*. In his *De perfectione Christiana ad Olympium monachum*, Gregory writes:

> ὁ δὲ μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὁ δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ συνάπτων τῷ θεῷ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἐκεῖνο συνάπτει μόνον, ὅπερ ἂν τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν συμφυΐας ἄξιον ᾖ […] οὕτω καὶ τοὺς καθ᾽ ἕκαστον προσάξει τῇ συναφείᾳ τῆς θεότητος.[451]

Apart from the Trinitarian application in his anti-Arian polemic Athanasius often uses the term in a Christological sense, showing that it does not denote a separation:

> διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ τοιαύτη γέγονεν ἡ συναφή, ἵνα τῷ κατὰ φύσιν τῆς θεότητος συνάψῃ τὸν φύσει ἄνθρωπον, καὶ βεβαία γένηται ἡ σωτηρία

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[448] The article of E. R. Hardy, 'The further education of Cyril of Alexandria', *SP* 17 (1982), 116-22 does not provide any substantial evidence concerning the extent of Cyril's secular education. I have not yet encountered any modern analysis proving satisfactorily his familiarity with the philosophical tradition of crucial terms employed both in the Trinitarian and Christological theology.

[449] Abramowski, 'Συνάφεια', 95.

[450] This is one of the reasons why during our private consultations in January 2001 in Tübingen Prof. Luise Abramowski came to label the twelve Cyrilline anathemas as 'Das größte Unglück der Dogmengeschichte'.

[451] *Gregorii Nysseni Opera* VIII/1, 204-205.

> καὶ ἡ θεοποίησις αὐτοῦ (*PG* 26, 296B). οὗτος οὖν καὶ Κύριος καὶ θεός, διὰ τὸ συναφθῆναι τὴν σάρκα τῷ Λόγῳ· καὶ οὐ διῃρημένως (*PG* 28, 464B).

Finally, based on the observation of Sellers,[452] we find even Apollinaris using συνάφεια and συμπλοκή (!), although his chief concern was the closest possible Christological union. The page numbers are given according to Lietzmann's edition:

> *De unione*, 187: μή τις ἀρνήσηται τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀπὸ γῆς πρὸς θεότητα συμπλοκήν […] ὅτε πλαστὸς ὁ ἄκτιστος ὀνομάζεται τῇ συναφείᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δούλου μορφὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλασσόμενον σῶμα. *Anacephalaeosis*, 246: συνάφειαν ἡμῖν δίδωσιν οὗ ἐστι σῶμα. *Fragm.* 138, p. 240: ἡ πρὸς τὸ σῶμα συνάφεια. *Fragm.* 144, p. 242: πῶς τὸ τῷ θεῷ καθ᾽ ἑνότητα προσώπου συναφθὲν οὐχὶ θεὸς σὺν αὐτῷ; *Fragm.* 162 from a *letter to Terentius*, 254: ὁμολογοῦντες τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα συνάφειαν.[453]

The term συνάφεια was therefore a valid term for both the Trinitarian and the Christological union. As shown by Prof. Abramowski, it had been the equivalent of 'unmingled union' for quite some time before the Ephesian-Chalcedonian period. It is this concept of 'unmingled union' which Theodoret defends in his *Letter to the Eastern monks*. The phrase is used exactly for the sake of terminological clarity:

> θεὸν τοίνυν ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀληθινὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν, οὐκ εἰς δύο πρόσωπα διαιροῦντες τὸν ἕνα, ἀλλὰ δύο φύσεις ἀσυγχύτως ἡνῶσθαι πιστεύομεν (*SC* 429, 110).[454]

This 'unmingled union' is the key term in the *Formula of Reunion* drawn up by the Bishop of Cyrus five months before the above letter. The Virgin is named 'God-bearer' according to this very idea or notion [ἔννοια] of 'unmingled union' inherited through the centuries from earlier theologians.[455] A plausible reason why its valid synonym

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[452] ' But when Cyril criticises the use of the term "conjunction", as implying a conjunction like that of the Lord and the believer who are "joined together" in one Spirit (cf. 1 Corinthians 6:17), or like that of the curtains of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness (Exodus 26:6), which were "coupled together" with clasps (*Apol. adv. Theod.* X; *Adv. Nestor.* II, 6), he does not take into account that it had its place in the common stock of theological words and phrases. Apollinaris himself had used "conjunction" when referring to the union of God and flesh in Jesus Christ.' See Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon*, 169.

[453] In reply to some charges brought against him, Apollinaris even writes in his ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις: οὐ θεὸν σαρκωθέντα ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπον θεῷ συναφθέντα (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 279; Lietzmann, *Apollinaris*, 178). This is remarkable the more so since the tract was known to Cyril (most likely under the name of Gregory Thaumatourgos).

[454] A typical example of συνάφεια qualifying the manner of ἕνωσις as 'unmixed' is in *Letter* 146 in *SC* 111, 196. See the *Confession* against Paul of Samosata: οὐκ εἰς διαίρεσιν τοῦ ἑνὸς προσώπου τοῦ ἀδιαιρέτου, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς δήλωσιν τοῦ ἀσυγχύτου τῶν ἰδιωμάτων τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τοῦ Λόγου, οὕτω καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀδιαιρέτου συνθέσεως πρεσβεύομεν (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 183).

[455] Cf. with the ἔκθεσις μακρόστιχος of the third Antiochene Synod of 345: ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὸν Υἱὸν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν εἶναι, ζῆν τε καὶ ὑπάρχειν ὁμοίως τῷ Πατρὶ λέγοντες, διὰ τοῦτο χωρίζομεν αὐτὸν τοῦ Πατρός, τόπους καὶ διαστήματά τινα μεταξὺ τῆς συναφείας αὐτῶν σωματικῶς ἐπινοοῦντες· πεπιστεύκαμεν γὰρ ἀμεσιτεύτως αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως ἀλλήλοις ἐπισυνῆφθαι καὶ ἀχωρίστους ὑπάρχειν ἑαυτῶν (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 195).

συνάφεια did not appear in the *Formula* is exactly Cyril's misunderstanding as we have seen above.[456] Theodoret's irenical purpose is remarkable exactly because upon seeing that the other party was unaware of the traditional meaning of the term, he did not try to impose it but rather used an equivalent which represented the same for all.

Nevertheless, it were a mistake to consider that this terminological concession is a result of Theodoret having been persuaded of the 'ambiguous meaning' of συνάφεια – since he does not abandon the term entirely[457] – yet during and after the Nestorian controversy he applies it very sparingly and with qualifications. The chief term for 'union' remains ἕνωσις throughout his entire career, testifying the author's openness for a true terminological reconciliation with the other party. This aspect of Theodoret's mainly peaceful theological character – in the same fashion as his doctrinal 'armistice' concerning the Christological application of ὑπόστασις after 431 – is noteworthy, and perhaps not merely from the viewpoint of a positive terminological evolution.

Rejection of misleading terms and the 'image' of the oikonomia

Having assessed the traditional meaning of συνάφεια, which qualifies the union in Christ, we take now a glance at those terms which are unsuited to describe this union. Theodoret enumerates them in Ch. 32 of *De incarnatione* (*PG* 75, 1472D-1473A):

> Pious [teaching] is to speak not about mixture [κρᾶσιν], but about unity/union [ἀλλ᾽ ἕνωσιν] in Christ. Therefore we neither confound [συγχέομεν] the natures, nor teach a mixture [κρᾶσις] of Creator and creature, nor introduce the [concept of] confusion [σύγχυσις] by means of the word 'mixture', but we both recognise the nature of the God-Word and acknowledge the essence of the form of the servant. […] Those who speak about mixture, together with mixture introduce confusion, and with confusion change [τροπή][458] becomes involved. Once change has appeared, neither God would remain in His own nature, nor [the] man in his own. For that necessitates each [of them] leaving the limits of the[ir] essence [ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐκστῆναι τῶν τῆς οὐσίας ὅρων ἑκάτερον], and neither God would be recognised as God, nor the man as man anymore. This cannot be accepted even for the structure of the human being by an accurate thinker. For we do not say that the soul is mixed [κεκρᾶσθαι] with the body, but rather that she is united [ἡνῶσθαι] and conjoined [συνῆφθαι] [with it], dwells [οἰκεῖν] and works inside [it] [ἐνεργεῖν]. Nobody would say that the soul is mortal or the body immortal without being entirely in foolish error. So while we distinguish each [nature], we acknowledge one living being composed [συγκείμενον] out of these. We name each nature with different names, [one is] the soul, [the other] the body, however, the living being composed out of both we give a different name, for

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[456] The term συνάφεια, however, remains the synonym for 'unmingled union' in Theodoret's thinking.

[457] The expression συνάφεια reappears in Theodoret's *Commentaries*, in the *Eranistes* and *HFC* also.

[458] Cf. with the *Second formula* of the Antiochene synod of 341 (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 185). Even Apollinaris anathematised those who taught τραπεῖσαν τὴν θεότητα εἰς σάρκα ἢ συγχυθεῖσαν ἢ ἀλλοιωθεῖσαν· ἢ παθητὴν τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ θεότητα (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 268).

> we call that human. Perceiving this as an image of the dispensation [ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας τὴν εἰκόνα λαβόντες], let us avoid that blasphemy, and abandoning the mixture, let us apply consistently the terms of union [τῆς ἑνώσεως], of conjunction [συναφείας] and of togetherness [κοινωνίας], teaching a distinction of nature, and the unity of the person [φύσεων μὲν διάκρισιν, προσώπου δὲ ἕνωσιν δογματίζοντες].

The rejection of the above terms as unsuited for the Incarnation is an important step towards the evolving Chalcedonian terminology. The term κρᾶσις and its synonyms occasionally used for Christological union were replaced by ἕνωσις and συνάφεια during the fourth century already partly because of the Apollinarian danger.

In order to understand better Theodoret's emphasis upon the terms 'mixture', 'confusion' and the like as being unsuited or 'blasphemous' for the *oikonomia*, I would like to focus first on the 'image of the dispensation' as presented here through the relationship between the human soul and body. This has a peculiar connection with Theodoret's earlier theological ideas, since in Ch. 11 of the *Expositio* – to which I made a reference earlier in this chapter[459] – he had already argued that in some ways the human soul-body image is befitting the Incarnation and in some ways it is not (*PG* 6, 1225B-1228C). It is adequate as far as we speak about the union of two different natures (i.e. of body and soul) within one human being in the same fashion as the Incarnate Son of God has two natures. Nevertheless, as Theodoret explains further, the human being is not two natures, but out of two:

> ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, εἰ καὶ διττὰς ἐν ἑαυτῷ δεικνύει φύσεις, οὐ δύο φύσεις ἐστίν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν δύο (*PG* 6, 1225C).

Thus, consisting out of the connection [συνάφεια] of soul and body, the human being is a third entity:

> ὡς εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς συναφείας ψυχῆς πρὸς σῶμα, τρίτον ἀποτελούμενον ἄλλο (*PG* 6, 1228B).

This is the aspect of the soul-body image which does not describe the Incarnation faithfully, since – as our author argues – Christ is not a third entity (a *tertium quid*) out of the divinity and humanity, but He is rather both, i.e. two natures and not one:

> ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐκ θεότητος καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος ἀπετελέσθη Χριστός, ἄλλος ὢν παρὰ τὰ δύο, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἑκάτερα τυγχάνει (*PG* 6, 1228B).

Whilst the human soul suffers [συμπάσχει] the passions and torments of the body, the divinity of Christ cannot be said to undergo the sufferings of the manhood (cf. *PG* 6, 1228C) – without involving a suffering qua Logos for our author – since, as we have already seen, the properties of each nature are preserved in the One Christ, otherwise they would cease to be two natures – at least for Theodoret.

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[459] See section *4.2.3 Theological reasons why Christ had to assume a human rational soul*.

In the above passage from *De incarnatione* the Bishop of Cyrus does not enter the discussion of this aspect, yet his emphatic rejections of κρᾶσις, σύγχυσις, τροπή and their synonyms[460] (like μεταβολή mentioned earlier) can be understood better within the light of his *Expositio*. Nevertheless, in comparison with the quoted passage from the earlier written *Expositio*, a passage which arguably exposes Theodoret's weakness to emphasise Christ's oneness, the text of Ch. 32 of *De incarnatione* with its final emphasis upon the union (φύσεων μὲν διάκρισιν, προσώπου δὲ ἕνωσιν δογματίζοντες) shows already a step forward in the course of his theological maturation, since he accepts here a particularly Alexandrian model of conceiving the Christological union and makes it his own.[461] There is no *communicatio idiomatum* indeed in this Christological union, nevertheless, its being a 'union' is not a merely verbal fact – arguably even from an Alexandrian viewpoint.

Perhaps it is not an overstatement if I conclude that this aspect also strengthens the validity of the judgement concerning the irenical character of the entire treatise, which both terminologically and in some ways concerning the analogies begins to build the bridgeheads upon the foundation of the common theological heritage for a prospective reconciliation in Chalcedon, which from the time of composing of these tracts seemed far from being achievable.

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[460] Se also Leporius's *Confession*: 'non ut conversione aut mutabilitate aliqua coeperit esse' (Hahn, *Bibliothek*, 299).

[461] Theodoret's *Letter* 146 *to the monks of Constantinople* written in the first half of 451 shows more clearly this subsequent acceptance of the anthropological analogy: 'But this bragging is unnecessary, for these men […] do not even dare to assert that they have ever heard us say anything of the kind; but they affirm that I preach two sons because I confess the two natures of our Master Christ. And they do not want to perceive that every human being has both an immortal soul and a mortal body; yet no one has been found so far to call Paul two Pauls because he has both soul and body, [any more] than Peter two Peters or Abraham or Adam. Everyone recognises the distinction [τὸ διάφορον] of the natures, and does not call the one [Paul] two Pauls. In the very same fashion, when calling our Lord Jesus Christ the Only-begotten Son of God, God the Word made human [ἐνανθρωπήσαντα], both Son of God and Son of Man, as we have been taught by the divine Scripture, we do not assert two sons, but we do confess the properties [τὰς ἰδιότητας] of the Godhead and of the manhood. Those, however, who deny the nature assumed of us are annoyed upon hearing these arguments' (*SC* 111, 178-80). It is observable how Theodoret's theological thinking evolved since the writing of the *Expositio*, yet that is outside our present focus.

Conclusion

Theodoret's Trinitarian and Christological thinking as he went up to Ephesus was deeply rooted in the tradition of previously formulated theological ideas within and outside the Antiochene school of thought. His doctrine on the Trinity represents the adoption and further elaboration of the Neo-Nicene refinements of the Cappadocian Fathers. His Christology presents us with a 'two natures – One Person' model within which both elements (i.e. the natures and the Person) are important and should not be played off against each other. It is an inherited rather than invented model of Christ with all its positive and defective elements, motivated by a vivid soteriology permeated by an authentic pastoral concern sharply focused upon God's justice and mercy shown to us by the fully divine and fully human Saviour's life, teaching and sacrifice. The ascription of His deeds on our behalf for the sake of our justification is carried out attributively, based on His human nature which is the same as ours, sin excepted. He does not only save us from damnation, but also strengthens our belief that, since He defeated sin, Satan and death through His humanity, these are not ruling us anymore either. Our duty then is to live our life accordingly following the 'trodden path of the pious'.

The Holy Scripture testifies that our Saviour is very God and very man and the only proper way for us to understand and fully acknowledge Him according to Theodoret is to receive both the biblical teaching and the fathers' doctrine concerning His unique Person, who is at once Creator and creature, who suffers and is subjected to our passions as man, yet is beyond them and can deliver us from these as God. In His assumed full humanity, in the destroyed and resurrected temple, we may thus contemplate the archetype of our redemption through the work of salvation achieved on our behalf by the One who on one hand was the second Adam indeed, yet who dwelt among us as the Only-begotten of the Father. His utterances and works are therefore both human and divine, whilst some would seem more human than divine or vice versa. Nevertheless, although one may interpret His divine manifestations as pertaining to His divinity whilst those uttered and performed in the state of humiliation could be reckoned to be appropriate for the assumed temple, it is the One Son who is contemplated and worshipped in both these natures. For the unharmed integrity of His complete Person the two natures retained their properties whilst He dwelt upon the earth, yet after resurrection the human nature received the glory, impassibility and incorruptibility of the divine, thus to prefigure our own glorification as a result of His achievement.

Thus, there is no worship of a separate human being over against the Only-begotten, but of the One Son in both natures as He manifested Himself to humankind. Being the Only-begotten Son of God, He made us His mercifully adopted children who have the same human nature He assumed, a nature which was perfect and was inseparably, unchangeably and unconfusedly united with the 'indwelling' Divinity. One is entitled to call Him with different names as Scripture does, yet not as two persons or πρόσωπα, but only as referring to the natures, since some of these names are ontologically more befitting to one nature than the other (i.e. the Son of Man to the manhood, the Son of God to the Word). Nevertheless, all these names are proper to Him, the Incarnate Son, who is

the πρόσωπον of the inseparable union. Further, there are names which are suitable to denote both his divinity and humanity at the same time. The name of Jesus Christ should be given prevalence, since this is the name by which Scripture chiefly made Him known to us as the Only-begotten of the Father and the Firstborn among many brethren. This is the name to which His Church justly clings.

Concerning the Christological terminology which Theodoret presents us with around the stormy year of 431, without trying to make him a Chalcedonian before Chalcedon, it still can be admitted that, in addition to the concept of 'two natures – One Person', some important Chalcedonian terms are anticipated in these two little tracts with virtually the same meanings as they shall receive in 451.[462] Nevertheless, these terms neither appear as an innovation in Theodoret's thought, thus constituting his 'laudably original' contribution, nor are motivated by sheer philosophical limitations. They are rather the distilled expression of a centuries-long developed doctrinal tradition deriving from the very meaning of unmingled and indivisible union of Father, Son and Spirit on the one hand and from a union without confusion in the Incarnate Word, i.e. from a ἕνωσις qualified by συνάφεια, on the other. Consequently, this is far from being an 'originality' on Theodoret's part in introducing as it were new 'philosophical' and thus 'alien' ideas into Christian doctrine (such as the 'Stoic doctrine of being' or 'God's philosophical impassibility' and the like) as is often suggested. On the contrary, it is his faithfulness to an undeniably vast ecclesiastical tradition which already represented such ideas, yet on primarily biblical grounds aided by expressions (in the absence of better ones) borrowed from secular philosophy.

Theodoret's 'originality' – if it could be claimed at all – resides perhaps within his remarkable consistency by which he harmonised this tradition terminologically in a time when a whole range of old orthodox terms were seriously questioned, facing the danger of elimination, whilst others with 'heretic flavour' began to replace them, although becoming filled with new meanings. In this attempt he may be easily shown to have failed to profess a real, i.e. *hypostatic* union or a true *communicatio idiomatum* in Christ, but nevertheless, it has to be said that such concepts in his time *were* the innovation – *not* the tradition. They proved to be useful in the end and their validity is not under question in this thesis. Nevertheless, to say the least, one of Theodoret's most invaluable contributions to the development of Christian theology is rather his consistency in the usage and correction of terms. He was one of the very few figures in the history of doctrine with an impressively wide-ranging knowledge of previous traditions from Asia Minor to Rome or Syria. This is why his most difficult but indispensable work of terminological clarification in the midst of a highly heated controversy (within which the

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[462] Apart from the above quoted examples ἄτρεπτος as a divine quality appears twice in *De Trinitate* (col. 1157C, 1188C) and twice in *De incarnatione* (col. 1432A: οὐχ ὁ θεὸς Λόγος ὁ ἄτρεπτος, εἰς σαρκὸς φύσιν ἐτράπη. Cf. col. 1449C: ἄτρεπτον γὰρ τὸ θεῖον, καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον – though not as an adverb as in the *Chalcedonense*, nevertheless τροπή is rejected as unsuited for the union). Cf. *PG* 80, 1372C and 1373D. Similarly, ἀχώριστος is used in a Trinitarian sense in *De Trinitate* (col. 1132B) and in a Christological sense in *De incarnatione* (col. 1469B). Cf. *Expositio* 17: οὕτως ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ ναῷ ἀχώριστον λέγοντες (*PG* 6, 1237C cf. 1217A) and Theodoret's *Interpretatio in Psalmos*: ἀχώριστον γὰρ ἡ θεία φύσις ποιησαμένη τὴν ἕνωσιν (*PG* 80, 1765B).

same words did not bear the same meaning for different theologians) caused him so much adversity which he carried with admirable honour. He is undoubtedly one of the most terminologically consistent fathers of the entire Christian Church throughout his entire career. On one hand he succeeded in working within an inherited tradition, bringing it to its arguably highest peak of doctrinal evolution. At the same time, though, he is one of the few who kept an open eye towards other schools also, building bridges and refining common terms to bear common meanings.

Being a church historian as well as a philosophically trained apologist, he knew always what he was talking about and from where a particular expression came. He was reluctant to dismiss old orthodox terms – especially those attached to an ecclesiastical authority (i.e. a synod's decree) – yet corrected those which had proved to be unsuited for the purpose for which some earlier fathers occasionally tried to use them. Without his contribution our present Christological vocabulary would be considerably poorer. Without his often blamed 'stubbornness' to defend some very old terms, filling them with new meanings of his time, they could just as well have disappeared in the turmoil of the fifth century, leaving us with a much more simplified picture of how our fathers once spoke and thus how one may speak of our Lord Incarnate. His repeated admonition concerning the Scriptural and patristic boundaries of our own theological capabilities at the end of Ch. 34 of *De incarnatione* faces us with the very challenge that although perhaps what we say about these issues ought to be said and may be right, we can never forget that only the Word of God is perfect – and not our all-time theological thoughts, since our knowledge will be complete only after meeting our Creator face to face and having received the same qualities as the resurrected humanity of our Saviour:

> Let us remain within the limits we inherited, not modifying the boundaries fixed by our Fathers. Let us be content with the teaching provided by the Spirit. We should not want to surpass the knowledge [γνῶσις] of Paul, who said that both his knowledge and prophecy were imperfect and he saw the truth in a mirror dimly. Let us wait for the enjoyment of the blessings hoped for. Then we shall be taught [to perceive] perfection, when we shall not be harmed by imposture, nor have fallen into boasting, but we shall live free from passions. Therefore at present let us remain within the teaching of the Fathers, in order that by seeking for more we do not fall [even] from the less, as our forefather Adam suffered: he desired to become God and lost even to be the image of God (col. 1476C-1477A).

During the years and decades following the famous Council of Chalcedon a series of various interpretations arose concerning its doctrinal meaning. Without entering the details of the so-called 'Neo-Chalcedonian' disputes and the *Three Chapters* controversy (which is outside our present focus), we may assert that the Fifth Ecumenical Council of 553 changed the entire way of thinking about the *Chalcedonian Definition*. This council, in its attempt to save what it deemed to be worthy of saving from the *Chalcedonense*, unavoidably cut Chalcedon's orthodox doctrinal corridor in two, accepting only the Alexandrian-Cyrilline interpretation as legitimate. It raised Cyril's *Twelve Anathemas* to the level of universal theological standard and interpreted all the doctrinal issues accordingly. This necessarily involved the condemnation of all those who either did not

fully agree with Cyrilline orthodoxy or were unacceptable to the Monophysite party, the group which Justinian intended to win back. This reunion was not achieved and in the same fashion as the *Henoticon* and other attempts, it simply did not satisfy anybody. From the Monophysite viewpoint it preserved too much from Chalcedon; on the other hand, it sacrificed too much of the orthodox Antiochenes according to the Western opinion. The schism deepened not only between the Eastern Monophysite and Dyophysite groups themselves, but between Constantinople and Rome also.

During these unsettled years, which then became unsettled centuries with temporary reconciliations and long-lasting tensions, the evaluation of Chalcedon remained essentially twofold, although the model of Christ as being 'One and the same' was universally proclaimed and accepted. One of the very interesting later developments was constituted by the Sixth Council in 681, which was conducted in perhaps the most relaxed spirit in comparison to the previous ones. Here – based on the teachings of Maximus the Confessor – it was defined that there are not only two natures but also two wills and two 'operating forces' [ἐνέργειαι] in the One Person of Christ. This again points back to the long forgotten orthodox Antiochene emphasis upon the 'unmingled union' of the two natures.

It is indeed quite difficult to reconcile the statements of the fifth council with those of the sixth, since the latter seems to have somewhat returned to a certain interpretation of Chalcedon which the former had already banned. In order to do justice to both theological traditions and to resist Monotheletism and Monoenergism effectively, one unavoidably needs to look at Chalcedon also through that corridor which was blocked off by the fathers gathered in 553 in Constantinople. The issue of the dramatic presence of the 'two wills' in Christ in Theodoret's treatment of the Temptation-story and in other parts of *De incarnatione*, his emphases upon the will of the manhood and that of the Godhead in Gethsemane and all the related biblical passages are far too obvious to be ignored in connection with the Monothelite controversy. One might even say that the virtue of his Christological approach could have been appreciated more fully in a time when such an acceptance was already forbidden by a previous synodal decision.

Although this Theodoretian reading of Chalcedon and understanding of the Person of Christ did not gain any major theological support in the East (despite the wide respect of Theodoret as a churchman and despite the praising of his writings by Photius) – save perhaps in the Catechism of Cyril Lukaris which was banned in the Eastern Church quite soon after its publication – the legacy of Theodoret and of orthodox Antiochene theology surfaces in later mediaeval and sixteenth-century Western theology.[463] Without introducing a new subject at the end of the thesis, I would like to quote Karl Barth's assessment of these similarities in order to illustrate how far in history these two – not conflicting, but rather complementary parallel traditions have influenced and shaped the doctrinal thinking of later theologians. In the volume of his magnum opus, dedicated to –

[463] This issue is outside the focus of this thesis. Nevertheless, for example, Anselm of Canterbury's doctrine of 'satisfactio' and his model of Christ in *Cur Deus homo* shows a very interesting resemblance with Antiochene Christology. The same goes for the Helvetic Reformers, especially Calvin and Bullinger, for the *Confessio Helvetica Posterior* (1566) and for the *Catechism of Heidelberg* (1563).

amongst others[464] – my home Hungarian Reformed Theological Academy in Kolozsvár,[465] Barth writes:

> Das es sich um relativ sich gegenüberstehende, nicht aber sich bestreitende oder gar aufhebende Zeugnisse von *einer* Wirklichkeit handelte, das wird zu bedenken sein bei der später notwendig werdenden Stellungnahme zu den in der Kirchengeschichte jene Verschiedenheit wiederholenden Gegensätze zwischen der *alexandrinischen* und der *antiochenischen* und dann noch einmal: zwischen der *lutherischen* und der *calvinischen* Christologie. In der Linie des johanneischen Typus haben wir ja offenbar das Christusverständnis des *Eutyches* und später das *Luthers* zu suchen, in der Linie des synoptischen Typus das des *Nestorius* und *Calvins* (Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik* I/2. p. 27).

According to Barth, the Christological understanding of the two ancient schools derives from the tradition of John and of the synoptics respectively. This, of course, does not mean a harsh distinction at all, implying as it were that both schools may have used only one of the two available alternatives, since this is not true for any representative of either.

The final conclusion of this investigation therefore is that, although between the parallel Christologies of the orthodox Alexandria and of the orthodox Antioch (together with their late appearances in the Middle Ages, in the sixteenth century or arguably even in our era) there are undeniable differences, nevertheless, these are at variance rather in emphasis than in substance. If for the sake of orthodoxy there has to be a choice between Theodoret and Nestorius, between Theodoret and Eutyches, between Cyril and Nestorius as well as between Cyril and Eutyches, there need not be a choice between Cyril and Theodoret lest we want to lose something truly valuable in terms of Christian teaching. Unity in this sense does not necessarily mean uniformity, although most of the fathers gathered in Constantinople in 553 probably held the contrary opinion, when upon failing to find a common goal they sought and found a common enemy in the representatives of the equally ancient parallel tradition. This choice did not effect the desired union: on the contrary, it continued the division. Consequently, one may consider it unfortunate not only from a doctrinal but from an ecumenical perspective also that, as a result of the narrow-minded decision of the fifth ecumenical council, one ancient method of Christian teaching about Jesus Christ is still surrounded by suspicion, and that this attitude clearly impairs our commonly assumed and accepted Chalcedonian heritage.

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[464] The other three institutions to which Barth dedicated this volume in 1938 are: the Reformed Theological Academy of Sárospatak (Hungary), the University of Utrecht and the University of St. Andrews.

[465] Every Transylvanian town has three names traditionally, according to the three nations which have been living there for centuries: Kolozsvár (in Hungarian) is called Klausenburg in German and Cluj in Romanian.

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Appendix

Towards a critical edition of *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione*

This *Appendix* is meant to list the currently known quotations of *De Trinitate* and *De incarnatione* found by mediaeval and modern scholars in various manuscripts. Because of the considerable length of most excerpts we shall quote the beginning and the end of each, mentioning their provenance.

Excerpts found by Albert Ehrhard

The only other testimony apart from Vat. gr. 841 itself, which ascribes the works to Cyril, comes from Euthymius Zigabenus. As Ehrhard observed, Euthymius quotes the following parts of *De incarnatione*:[466]

Euthymius: ***Panoplia Dogmatica***	**Theodoret:** ***De incarnatione Domini***
1. ἔτι κατὰ Ἀπολλιναριαστῶν [*sic*] τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Κυρίλλου ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως λόγου. ὁ τὸν ὕθλον προτιμήσας […] τὴν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀνάστασιν (*PG* 130, 905D-909D).	The entire Chapter 18, fully identical with the text of Vat. gr. 841 (*PG* 75, 1448C-1452C).
2. ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου. ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει […] τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐκείνην τεταγμένη (*PG* 130, 909D-912C)	The entire Chapter 19, fully identical with the text of Vat. gr. 841 (*PG* 75, 1452D-1453B).
3. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως λόγου. ταῦτα τὴν Ἀπολλιναρίου ματαιολογίαν […] τὸ ἡττηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (*PG* 130, 925AB).	The first part of current Chapter 15 (in fact the entire original Chapter 15),[467] with minor textual variants (*PG* 75, 1441D-1444A)
4. ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου. ἀπολογίαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἁμαρτάνοντες […] οὐ δυνάμενον νόμους (*PG* 130, 925BC).	First part of current Chapter 16, with its title[468] and with minor textual variants (*PG* 75, 1444D-1445A).
5. Καὶ σὺ δὲ αὐτός, ὦ Δέσποτα […] τὸ ἀναμάρτητον μηχανησάμενος (*PG* 130, 925CD).[469]	Concluding part of current Chapter 16, with minor textual variants (*PG* 75, 1445AB).

[466] Ehrhard, 'Die Schrift', 199, note 2. Euthymius quotes from *De Trinitate* also. See the last title in this *Appendix*.

[467] This fragment is followed by the first unnoticed title as observed by Schwartz in his 'Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets', 31.

[468] This is the only occasion when Euthymius quotes the title of a chapter also, yet here it is needed for the clarity of the quotation.

[469] Fragments 5 and 6 are given consecutively by Euthymius (i.e. as being one), yet since there is an omission between them (as we have it in *De incarnatione*), I have listed them separately.

Euthymius: *Panoplia Dogmatica*	Theodoret: *De incarnatione Domini*
6. ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου. ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἀδολεσχίαν ἐκείνων […] ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον ἔνοικον κεκτημένων (*PG* 130, 928AD).	The entire current Chapter 17, fully identical with the text of Vat. gr. 841 (*PG* 75, 1445B-1448B).

Ehrhard was the first to point out that in Garnier's *Auctarium*,[470] under the title θεωδορήτου Πενταλόγιον περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως (reprinted in *PG* 84, 65-88), various fragments of Theodoret's Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως were published.[471] Since most of these fragments gathered by Garnier are identical with other relevant passages present in various manuscripts, we shall list them together with those in order to avoid tautology.

The three fragments of Marius Mercator as quoted by Garnier, Ehrhard and Schwartz and reprinted in *PL* 48, 1075 (as a quotation from Theodoret by Mercator), as well as in *PG* 84, 82 (as part of Theodoret's *Pentalogium*) are the following:

Item eiusdem ex capitulo quinto decimo: Haec, inquit, Apollinaris arguunt vanitatem […] magnum namque est illi etiam a Deo superari. (*PL* 48, 1075B)	De incarn. ch. 15 in *PG* 75, 1441D-1444A: Ταῦτα τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου ἐλέγχει ματαιολογίαν [...] μέγα γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἡττηθῆναι ὑπὸ θεοῦ.
Item eiusdem ex capitulo sexto decimo: Convenienter, inquit, diabolus Deo dicere poterat […] sed Deus qui pro homine decertaret. (*PL* 48, 1075C-1076B)	De incarn. ch. 15 [16] in *PG* 75, 1444: καὶ εἴποι ἂν εἰκότως [...] ἀλλὰ θεὸς ὁ ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου παλαίων.
Item eiusdem ex capitulo tricesimo (Garnier: vigesimo nono):[472] Dei Filius homini inseparabiliter adiunctus [...] et apellationem naturae eius assumens. (*PL* 48, 1076BC)	De incarn. ch. 29 [30] in *PG* 75, 1469B-C: θεοῦ, ὃς ἀχωρίστως αὐτῷ συνημμένος [...] καὶ τὴν τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῦ προσηγορίαν λαβὼν.

The quotations published by Eduard Schwartz

In his study 'Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets', Schwartz quotes several fragments of Περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως from Nicetas' *Catena of Luke* according to the following manuscripts: Vindob. theol. gr. 71 and Monac. 473. We shall quote only the fragments from *De incarnatione*, whilst keeping Schwartz's numbering.

Fragment no. 4 in Schwartz:

Vindobon. theol. gr. 71 fol. 167^{rv}, Luke 2:52. θεοδωρήτου περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως· ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν [...] ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μαθησόμεθα. Garnier's fragment (*PG*

[470] See *Beati Theodoreti Episcopi Cyri Operum Tomus V*, 40-50. All the subsequent quotations from Garnier's work are given according to Migne's reprinted edition (see *PG* 84, 65-88).
[471] Ehrhard, 'Die Schrift', 624-26.
[472] Concerning the differences between chapter numbering see 'An unnoticed title', 103-04.

84, 72-73). Apart from the introductory and ending remarks, the fragment is from Ch. 24 of *De incarnatione* (*PG* 75, 1461BD).

Fragment no. 13 in Schwartz:

Vindobon. theol. gr. 71 fol. 299^{v}-301^{r}, Luke 4:3. θεοδωρήτου περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως· ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως [...] ὁ λίθος οὗτος ἄρτος γένηται. Garnier's fragment (*PG* 84, 77-80) put together from three pieces of Περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως:

- The beginning until καταθαρρεῖν αὐτοῦ πάντας παρασκευάση (Garnier *PG* 84, 77A) is from Ch. 12 (*PG* 75, 1437B);
- The second part between ἀνάγεται τοίνυν [...] ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος (Garnier *PG* 84, 77A) is from Ch. 24 (*PG* 75, 1464A);
- The last and longest fragment between ἀνάγεται δὲ οὐχ ὁ θεὸς Λόγος [...] ὁ λίθος οὗτος ἄρτος γένηται (Garnier *PG* 84, 77A-80B) is from Ch. 13 and 14 (*PG*, 1437D-1441A) omitting the title of Ch. 14.

Fragment no. 14 in Schwartz:

Vindobon. theol. gr. 71 fol. 301^{v}-302^{r}, Luke 4:3. θεοδωρήτου· ἐφίεται μὲν γὰρ τροφῆς ὁ Κύριος [...] ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ. This fragment is not given by Garnier, but was translated into Latin by Combefis and reprinted by Gallandi.[473] The beginning and the end of this Latin translation is 'Quid vero Dominus? Appetit quidem cibum […] super omnem virtutem inimici'. The excerpt is composed from two parts of Περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως:

- The beginning until θαρσεῖτε γάρ φησιν, ἐγὼ νενίκηκα τὸν κόσμον (John 16:33) is from Ch. 24 (*PG* 75, 1464A);
- The second half: πατεῖσθαι τὸν τύραννον ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι δουλευόντων ποιεῖ παρεγγυῶν [...] πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ (Luke 10:19) is from Ch. 13 (*PG* 75, 1437C).

Fragment no. 15 in Schwartz:

Vindobon. theol. gr. 71 fol. 302^{rv}, Luke 4:4. θεοδωρήτου· ἀκούσας γὰρ τῶν τοῦ πονηροῦ ῥημάτων [...] καὶ ἄρτων μὴ δεηθῆναι. Garnier's fragment (*PG* 84, 80CD), being a quotation from Ch. 14 (*PG* 75, 1441B).

Fragment no. 16 in Schwartz:

Vindobon. theol. gr. 71 fol. 307^{v}-309^{v}, Luke 4:9-12. θεοδωρήτου· ἤλγησε μὲν ὡς ἡττηθεῖς ἅπαξ [...] καταισχύνοντα τὸν πειράζοντα. Garnier's fragment (*PG* 84, 81A-85A) composed of two passages:

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[473] Combefis, *Biblioth. Patrum Concionatoria*, II, 525; Gallandi, *Biblioth. Veterum Patrum*, IX, 418.

- From the beginning until ὁ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἅπασαν κατορθώσας (*PG* 84, 84B), the excerpt is from Chapters 14-15 (*PG* 75, 1441C-1444C). It includes the first and second quotation of Marius Mercator, omitting (at least in Garnier's text) the title of Ch. 15 as well as the title of the originally intended 16th chapter first overlooked by the Vatican 841 copyist.
- After a short intermezzo compiled with the use of the beginning of Ch. 17 (Garnier: *PG* 84, 84BC – cf. *PG* 75, 1445C), the rest from ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἅπας ὁ ἄνθρωπος until ἐστερημένων [*sic* Vindob.], ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον ἔνοικον κεκτημένων [*sic* Vindob.] is from Ch. 17 (*PG* 75, 1448B). The last sentence is a remark of the redactor.

Excerpts found by Schwartz in Garnier missing from Vindobonensis:

1. Ἀλλὰ μὴν οἰκτείρας ὁ Ποιητὴς τὴν οἰκείαν εἰκόνα [...] πράγματα κατὰ ταυτὸν συνάγουσαν. This is the opening fragment in Garnier's *Auctarium* (*PG* 84, 65A-68B). The brief summary of Ch. 23's first phrases is followed by a longer, practically word-by-word quotation from the same chapter (cf. *PG* 75, 1460C-1461B). Ehrhard quoted this fragment also in order to augment his external evidences.[474] Concerning this excerpt see also *Fragment no. 31 in M. Richard*.
2. Καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν ἀναλαβὼν [...] τὴν τῆς ἁμαρτίας κατέλυσε τυραννίδα. Garnier's excerpt (*PG* 84, 68BC), see *Fragment no. 34 in M. Richard*.

Fragment no. 26 in Schwartz:

Monac. 473, 124, Luke 7:13-14. θεοδωρήτου· ἐκάλεσε τὸν εἰς τὸν τάφον προπεμπόμενον νεανίαν καὶ τοῦτον εἰς ζωήν [...] ὕμνον ἔτρεψεν. Short fragment from Ch. 25 (*PG* 75, 1465A).

Joseph Lebon's quotations from Severus's *Contra Grammaticum*

In his study 'Restitutions a Théodoret de Cyr',[475] based on his own edition of Severus' *Contra Grammaticum* preserved in Syriac,[476] Joseph Lebon gives the following excerpts from Theodoret's Περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως as quoted by the famous Monophysite bishop (translated by the editor):

Fragment no. 1 in Lebon:

Quod et in alio eius libro, De theologia sanctae Trinitatis et de oeconomia, ut ait, scriptum est. Ante hunc *librum* quidem prooemium texens, sic incipit: THEODORETUS: 'Omnis scriptio otium requirit et tranquillitatem, mentemque curis liberatam'. As Lebon

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[474] Ehrhard, 'Die Schrift', 625.
[475] J. Lebon, 'Restitutions', 529-531.
[476] J. Lebon, *Severi Antiocheni Liber contra Impium Grammaticum*, V.

had indicated, this general prologue of perhaps both works was not preserved in Greek. The *italicised* word is Lebon's addition to make the translation clearer. Small capitals are used when a text or phrase is written in red in the original Syriac manuscript.

Fragment no. 2 in Lebon:

Incipiendo autem ait: THEODORETUS: 'Oportet sane omnes […] vocem pastoris audire'. The beginning of the Prooemium of *De Trinitate*: ἔδει μὲν πάντας [...] τῆς τοῦ ποιμένος ἀκούειν φωνῆς (*PG* 75,1148A).[477]

Fragment no. 3 in Lebon:

Ad eadem dogmata impia et profana devenit in capite vicesimo secundo secundae orationis, quam De oeconomia sive de inhumanatione inscripsit; in capite vero scripsit sic: THEODORETUS: 'Demonstratio ex epistula […] et unum Filium demonstrantes'. This fragment is the beginning of Ch. 21 of *De incarnatione*: ἀπόδειξις [...] καὶ τὸν ἕνα ὑποδεικνύσας υἱόν (*PG* 75, 1456A). It includes the famous title with πρόσωπον changed into Λόγος by A. Mai. The numbering is already down by one compared to Vat. 841, as the first copying error had been committed in Ch. 15.

Fragment no. 4 in Lebon:

ET POST PAUCA: 'Qui enim est splendor gloriae […] propter unionem ad assumentem'. *De incarnatione* Ch. 21: ὁ γάρ ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης [...] διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀνειληφότα ἕνωσιν (*PG* 75, 1456B).

Fragment no. 5 in Lebon:

RURSUSQUE POST PAUCA: 'Itaque contrarium […] unum Filium adorabimus'. *De incarnatione* Ch. 21: οὐκοῦν ἐναντίον [...] τὸν ἕνα Υἱὸν προσκυνήσωμεν (*PG* 75, 1456CD).

Fragment no. 6 in Lebon:

Qui enim ea, quae modo citata sunt, scripsit et blasphemando introduxit hominem deiferum, qui ex semine David, postquam dixerat illum in se accepisse omnia charismata Spiritus sancti, subiunxit: THEODORETUS: 'Sed in utraque natura unum Filium adorabimus'. *De incarnatione* Ch. 21: ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ δὲ φύσει τὸν ἕνα Υἱὸν προσκυνήσωμεν (*PG* 75, 1456D).

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[477] This is the only fragment which had been discovered from *De Trinitate* before the excerpts I found in Euthymius. See below.

Fragment no. 7 in Lebon:

Hisque rursus addidit et subnexuit miser: 'Iterum autem beatus Paulus […] et unione salutem operatus est'. *De incarnatione* Ch. 21: καὶ αὖθις δὲ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος [...] καὶ τῇ ἑνώσει τὴν σωτηρίαν εἰργάσατο (*PG* 75, 1456D-1457A).

Fragment no. 8 in Lebon:

Addit autem post pauca iterum, [...] quae totidem, ut ita dicam, verbis reperiuntur etiam in reprehensione decimi ex capitulis sancti Cyrilli: THEODORETUS: 'Quis ergo est qui orabat […] ut per passiones ostenderetur natura assumpti'. *De incarnatione* Ch. 21: Τίς τοίνυν ὁ προσευχόμενος [...] ἵνα διὰ τῶν παθημάτων δειχθῇ τοῦ ληφθέντος ἡ φύσις (*PG* 75, 1457CD).

Fragment no. 9 in Lebon:

Et iterum, in capite vicesimo primo:[478] 'Ita etiam beatus Paulus […] tum unionem personae preaedicat'. *De incarnatione* Ch. 22: οὕτως ὁ θειότατος Παῦλος [...] καὶ τοῦ προσώπου κηρύττει τὴν ἕνωσιν (*PG* 75, 1460A). Severus reproduced this quotation in the third – in 1930 still unpublished – book of his *Contra Grammaticum*, in Ch. 30 (British Library Addit. 12157, fol. 145^{v}), introducing it with the following formula: 'Itaque impius Theodoretus, in oratione, De inhumanatione Domini, eodem modo ac Leo unionem personae confitens in capitulo vicesimo haec dicit: THEODORETUS…'[479]

Fragment no. 10 in Lebon:

Rursusque in capite tricesimo quarto: 'Sed et naturam Dei Verbi scimus […] a magistri pietatis'. *De incarnatione* Ch. 32: ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου τὴν φύσιν γνωρίζομεν [...] παρὰ τῶν διδασκάλων ἐκλήθη τῆς εὐσεβείας (*PG* 75, 1472D). Here the numbering of Vat. 841 is down by two, after the second copying error occurred in Ch. 29.[480]

Fragment no. 11 in Lebon:

ET PAULO POST: 'Mixtionem mittentes […] divinitati sublimi et magnae et omnem sensum excedenti attribuentes'. *De incarnatione* Ch. 32: τὴν κρᾶσιν καταλιπόντες [...] τῇ ὑψηλῇ καὶ μεγάλῃ καὶ πάντα νοῦν ὑπερβαινούσῃ ἀνατιθέντες θεότητι (*PG* 75, 1473B).

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[478] This excerpt is undoubtedly from Chapter 22 of Vat. 841, and thus – to remain consistent – Severus must have known it as being from Chapter 23, not from Chapter 21 as it results from Lebon's translation. For the clarification of this difference see my article 'An unnoticed title', 104-5.
[479] Lebon, 'Restitutions' 531, note 2.
[480] See 'An unnoticed title', 106-8.

Fragment no. 12 in Lebon:

Etenim audimus quomodo dixerit: THEODORETUS: 'Haec igitur propria sunt humanitatis […] et preces offerebat'. *De incarnatione* Ch. 21: οὐκοῦν ἴδια ταῦτα [...] καὶ διετέλει προσευχομένη (*PG* 75, 1457D).

Fragment no. 13 in Lebon:

Nam antea dixit interrogative docens: THEODORETUS: 'Quis ergo *est* qui orabat […] et lacrymis offerebat?'. *De incarnatione* Ch. 21: τίς τοίνυν ὁ προσευχόμενος [...] καὶ δακρύων προσενεγκών; (*PG* 75, 1457C).

Fragment no. 14 in Lebon:

Et respondebat decernebatque dicens: THEODORETUS: 'Non Deus Verbum […] supplicabat ut servaretur a morte'. *De incarnatione* Ch. 21: οὐχ ὁ θεὸς Λόγος […] ἀπαλλαγῆναι θανάτου (*PG* 75, 1457C).

Fragment no. 15 in Lebon:

Aut interrogare et dividere et tanquam de duobus dicere: THEODORETUS: 'Quis ergo orabat […] lacrymis offerebat?', atque negando dicere: 'Non Deus Verbum', et addere: 'Itaque haec propria […] et orationem offerebat'. This is again from Ch. 21 of *De incarnatione* (*PG* 75, 1457CD) like the fragments no. 8, 12, 13, and 14.

Fragment no. 16 in Lebon:

Sic et Theodoretus, De inhumanatione Domini: THEODORETUS: 'Sed in utraque natura unum Filium adorabimus'. *De incarnatione* Ch. 21: ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ δὲ φύσει τὸν ἕνα Υἱὸν προσκυνήσωμεν (*PG* 75, 1456D). This is identical with *Fragment no. 6*.

Fragment no. 17 in Lebon:

RURSUSQUE: 'Utramque enim naturam […] Christus nominatur'. *De incarnatione* Ch. 32: ἑκατέραν δὲ φύσιν [...] Χριστὸς ὀνομάζεται (*PG* 75, 1472D).

The quotations from Vat. gr. 1611 published by Robert Devreesse

In 1931 Robert Devreesse disclosed some fragments of Theodoret's works listed in Vat. gr. 1611, the *Catena* manuscript which was unavailable for Schwartz.[481] It gives all the excerpts of Vindob. theol. gr. 71 and of Monac. 473, and contains all those collected by Garnier. Among these quotations published by Devreesse there are two concerning our treatise:

[481] Devreesse, 'Orient, antiquité', 568-69.

Vat. gr. 1611 fols. 46^{v}-47^{r}, Luke 2:52. θεοδωρήτου περὶ ἀνθρωπήσεως· ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν etc. This long extract can be found elsewhere in two parts:

- The first part in Greek in Garnier's *Auctarium*[482] (reprinted in *PG* 84, 72C-73A): ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν [...] ἐκ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου μαθησόμεθα.
- The second part in a Latin translation by Combefis and Gallandi[483] (see *PG* 84, 73-76): 'Nam, quomodo, inquit, Patris aequalis […] ad deitatis rationem promoveant'.

Concerning this fragment Devreesse mentions, that on the margin of Vat. gr. 1611 before the first fragment one can read the addition λύσις and then the word ἀντίθεσις before the second one, raising the question whether Nicetas himself could have been the author of this textual distinction. However, Marcel Richard proved later, that the second (Latin) part of this quotation given by Combefis and Gallandi was in fact Ch. 27 of Cyril's *Thesaurus* (cf. *PG* 75, 421-429).[484]

Vat. gr. 1611 fols 297^{rv}, Luke 24:13. θεοδωρήτου· Here Nicetas gives Chapters 26 and 27 entirely as well as the greater part of Ch. 28 from Περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως.

More fragments from Vat. gr. 1611 found by Marcel Richard

In his study 'Les citations de Théodoret' published in 1934, on the basis of Vat. gr. 1611, M. Richard brought to light further twenty fragments of Theodoret, starting their numbering with 29 (Schwartz published 28 and M. Richard wanted to continue the list begun by the German scholar). Those from *De incarnatione* are listed here:

Fragment no. 31 in M. Richard:

Vat, gr. 1611, fol. 8^{v}, Luke 1:31. θεοδωρήτου περὶ ἐνανθρωπήσεως. ἀλλὰ μὴν οἰκτείρας [...] κατὰ ταὐτὸν συνάγουσαν. This is the first fragment in Garnier's *Auctarium*, reprinted in *PG* 84, 65A-68B, already mentioned by Schwartz. Since the German scholar was unable to use Vat. gr. 1611, Marcel Richard quotes it according to this codex. This also confirms the sentence of Schwartz, who considered the passage as being surely from Nicetas' *Catena of Luke*.

Fragment no. 34 in M. Richard:

Vat. gr. 1611, fol. 16^{rv}, Luke 2:6. θεοδωρήτου. Καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν ἀναλαβὼν [...] τὴν τῆς ἁμαρτίας κατέλυσε τυραννίδα. This is also a fragment given by Garnier (see *PG* 84, 68BC), being composed of two extracts from *De incarnatione*, namely from Ch. 8 (*PG* 75, 1425CD) and Ch. 10 (*PG* 75, 1432D-1433A) respectively. The first part taken from Ch. 8 is itself composed of two, lacking a biblical quotation from Philippians 2, 5-7.

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[482] *Beati Theodoreti Episcopi Cyri Operum*, V, 43-44.
[483] Combefis, *Biblioth. Patrum Conc.*, I, 602-604; Gallandi, *Biblioth. Veterum Patrum*, IX, 420-21.
[484] M. Richard, 'Les citations de Théodoret', 94-95. See below.

Fragment no. 43 in M. Richard:

Vat. gr. 1611, fol. 297^{rv}, Luke 23:13-25. θεοδωρήτου. Ὅτι προστρέχει τοῖς ἀναγράπτοις πάθεσι [...] τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν ὑπέσχετο. Ἀλλά τινα μὲν ὑφ᾽ ἑκάστου τῶν παθῶν ἐδηλοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῷ Ματθαίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰωάννη ἐπεξείργασται. This longer passage gives Ch. 26 (excluding the first few words), Ch. 27 and the major part of Ch. 28 of *De incarnatione* (*PG* 75, 1465B-1468C). The last sentence (ἀλλά τινα [...] ἐπεξείργασται) – as shown by M. Richard – is obviously from Nicetas.

Identification of the various elements in Garnier's *Auctarium*

At the end of the same study, Marcel Richard gives a summary of the quotations gathered by Garnier in the so-called *Pentalogium* of Theodoret reprinted in Migne.

1. Three fragments are considered to be from the so-called Πεντάλογος:
   - ἀμέλει ὁ Γαβριήλ [...] καὶ προφήτου κρυπτομένην (*PG* 84, 68D-72B)[485];
   - ὅταν οὖν ἀκούσῃς [...] ὁ θεὸς Λόγος ἀνείληφεν (*PG* 84, 72BC);
   - ὅταν τοίνυν εὕρῃς [...] φύσει φυλάττων τὰ ἰδιώματα (*PG* 84, 85AB).
2. One passage is from Theodoret's *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*: προκόπτει δὲ ἡλικίᾳ [...] τὴν οἰκείαν σοφίαν (*PG* 84, 68D cf. *PG* 83, 497B).
3. Another excerpt given by Garnier and reprinted in Migne belongs to Theodoret's *Interpretatio in Psalmos* (Psalm 54:5 in *PG* 84, 32C cf. *PG* 80, 1272A).
4. Concerning the already mentioned Ch. 27 of Cyril's *Thesaurus*, Marcel Richard observed that this passage in Vat. gr. 1611 was not separated from the previous one (see Vat. gr. 1611 fols 46^{v}-47^{r} as cited above by Devreesse). The same thing can be observed in the Codex Mazarinaeus used by Combefis, who published the entire passage (i.e. both parts) in a Latin translation. Since the manuscript used by Garnier did not contain this second part of the excerpt (i.e. Ch. 27 of Cyril's *Thesaurus*), it was not published in his quoted posthumous work. That is why Marcel Richard disagrees with Schwartz concerning the former' s conclusion, that Combefis and Garnier must have used the same manuscript,[486] namely the Mazarinaeus or Parisinus 208. The excerpt from Cyril's quoted work is printed in Migne only in Combefis' Latin translation: 'Nam, quomodo, inquit, Patris aequalis… ad deitatis rationem promoveant' (*PG* 84, 73-76). Its Greek version is to be found in Vat. 1611 fols 46^{v}-47^{r}: πῶς γὰρ δύναται [...] τῆς θεότητος λόγον.

We can conclude together with M. Richard that apart from the excerpts listed above, as well as some redacting remarks, all the other passages in Garnier's *Auctarium* are to be found in Theodoret's *De incarnatione*. In order to avoid superfluous quotations, I have chosen to present all that was not part of *De incarnatione* in Garnier's compilation, instead of comparing all of them with the relevant parts of *De incarnatione*. Moreover,

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[485] By M. Richard: κηρυττομένην. See 'Les citations de Théodoret', 96.
[486] Schwartz, 'Zur Schriftstellerei Theodorets', 32. Cf. M. Richard, 'Les citations', 94, note 4.

the majority of Garnier's excerpts had already been mentioned in relation with the other fragments found in the mediaeval manuscripts.

Five fragments of *De Trinitate* in Euthymius' *Panoplia Dogmatica*

As mentioned above, I located five so far undiscovered fragments of the virtually unquoted first treatise of Theodoret on the Trinity under the name of Cyril in Euthymius Zigabenus' *Panoplia Dogmatica*.[487] These excerpts are the following:

E. Zigabenus: *Panoplia Dogmatica*	**Theodoret of Cyrus: *De s. et v. Trinitate***
1) *PG* 130, 653BD: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ [i.e. Κυρίλλου] ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος λόγου. ὅτι δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ δύναται τῷ Πατρὶ […] ἰσότης ἐν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ γνωρίζεται.	*PG* 75, 1165AC The entire Chapter 13 of *De Trinitate*, without its title, but otherwise fully identical with the text of Vat. gr. 841.[488]
2) *PG* 130, 656AD: καὶ τοῦτο. βαβαὶ πόση τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἡ παραπληξία […] τῆς ἀναληφθείσης ἀνθρωπότητος τὴν ἀποστολὴν εἶναι.	*PG* 75, 1168A-1169A Long excerpt from Chapter 15 of *De Trinitate*, with minor textual variants.
3) *PG* 130, 656D-657B: καὶ τοῦτο. Πάτερ, ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα […] πῶς αἰτεῖ λαβεῖν ὃ ἔχει ἀεί;	*PG* 75, 1173CD Almost the entire text of Chapter 17 of *De Trinitate*, with a few minor textual variants.
4) *PG* 130, 657BC: καὶ τοῦτο. εἶτα δεικνὺς, ὡς οὐ δοξάζεται μόνον […] τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ἐξουσίας παιδεύων.	*PG* 75, 1176A More than half of the text of Chapter 18 of *De Trinitate*, with minor textual variants.
5) *PG* 130, 669BC: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος λόγου. ἵνα δὲ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ τὴν ἰσότητα δείξωμεν […] ποίαν ἐνταῦθα χώραν ἔχει τὸ μεῖζον καὶ τὸ ἔλαττον;	*PG* 75, 1161AB Fragment from Chapter 11 of *De Trinitate*, with minor textual variants.

These are (to my knowledge) all the fragments discovered so far from both works, which may provide if not a full but at least an available basis for the production of the first critical edition of Περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ζωοποίου Τριάδος and of Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως.

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[487] For a more detailed discussion of this discovery see my forthcoming article 'Fragments of Theodoret's *De sancta et vivifica Trinitate* in Euthymius Zigabenus' *Panoplia Dogmatica*' in the 2002 edition of *Augustinianum*.

[488] Euthymius – in the same fashion as Nicetas of Heracleia did a century earlier – quotes fragments of Theodoret's work without the chapter titles. The only exception to this rule is the title of Chapter 16 of Theodoret's *De incarnatione* (*PG* 75, 1444D) quoted by Euthymius in *PG* 130, 925B (listed as no. 4 above among the fragments located by Ehrhard), yet in that case the title is necessary in order to clarify the discussed theme. Thus, he does not quote the chapter titles of the above quotations either.

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